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VOLTAIRE

HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1741

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	State of Europe Prior to the War	5
II.	Death of Charles VI. . . .	37
III.	The Elector of Bavaria Made Emperor	47
IV.	The New Emperor's Misfortunes .	63
V.	Europe during the War . . .	94
VI.	The Battle of Dettingen . .	124
VII.	Troubles of Charles VII. . .	142
VIII.	The Prince of Conti Forces the Passage of the Alps . .	161
IX.	Louis XV. Victorious in Flanders .	167
X.	The Prince of Conti Wins in Italy	184
XI.	The Siege of Freiburg . . .	194
XII.	The King of Poland Joins Maria Theresa	198
XIII.	Death of Charles VII. . . .	204
XIV.	Siege of Tournay; Battle of Fontenoy	219
	Supplementary Notes to "Annals of the Empire," 1632–1687	

LIST OF PLATES

Vol. XXXIII

	PAGE
Madame DuBarry . . . *Frontispiece*	
Maria Theresa	70
Louis XV.	218
John Sobieski	308

HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1741.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN EUROPE, AND A BRIEF REVIEW OF MATTERS PRIOR TO THE WAR OF 1741.

I HAVE always looked upon the Christian powers of Europe as one great republic, all whose parts correspond with one another, even when they aim at their mutual destruction. Certain customs, which we call the laws of war, laws unknown to other nations, have been established by general consent. The precedence of almost all princes has been settled; the Catholics have two cities in common; one of these is Malta, the centre of a perpetual war waged against the enemies of the Christian name; the other is Rome, which in more respects than one is the capital of all the Catholic nations, each of which has a right to name one of the sovereign's principal ministers; and their ecclesiastical, and even temporal causes are tried by the tribunal of the Rota, the judges composing which are taken from each nation. The sovereigns, in all the Catholic frontiers, have some territories that are under the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop. Nothing is more common than to see the prerogatives, honors, and

orders of knighthood of one country conferred upon the natives of another. Most princes have territories lying in the middle of other states; as for example, the pope is possessed of Avignon in France, and of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples; the Venetians have dominions in the heart of the Milanese. There is scarcely a prince in Germany but has some dominions enclosed by the territory of another sovereign.

The old Roman law is in full force in all these countries: they have all one and the same learned language; and every court speaks the same living tongue — the French, which is used in every court of Europe but our own. These connections have been further strengthened by commerce. The merchants carry on so close a correspondence, even in time of war, that at the very time in which the English were arming to ruin the Spaniards, they were deeply interested in the trade of that nation; so that when their privateers seized upon an enemy's ship, they were absolutely plundering their own countrymen. In effect, the wars waged against each other by Christian princes have in them so much of the nature of civil wars, that in the year 1701, Victor, duke of Savoy, was in arms against his two sons-in-law: the prince of Vaudemont commanded the Spaniards in the Milanese, and was nearly made prisoner by his own son, who had followed the fortune of the house of Austria.

In the year 1718, when the duke of Orleans, re-

gent of France, carried on a war against his cousin, Philip V. of Spain, the duke of Liria served against his father, the duke of Berwick. In the war, the history of which I now write, the kings of France, Spain, and Poland, and the elector of Bavaria were the nearest akin to the queen of Hungary, whom they attacked; and upon that very tie of relationship the last of these princes set up a claim to plunder her. We have seen, in the course of this war, Francis, great duke of Tuscany, and now emperor of Germany, keep an envoy at Paris, whose children served against him; and we have seen all the sons of the Tuscan prime minister in our service. We had a thousand examples of this kind before our eyes, and yet they did not surprise us.

All the sovereigns of the different states of this part of the world are allied either by blood or by treaty; and yet they scarcely conclude a marriage or a treaty that is not the cause of some future disagreement.

Commerce, whereby they are necessarily linked, is almost always the occasion of their dissenting. The two subjects on which to ground a war are everywhere else unknown; nowhere but in Europe is a wife known to bring to her husband a war for her dower, by setting up a right to some distant province. No act of confraternity is known among princes; nor a reversion from one family to another no way related to it; nor yet small fiefs paying homage at the same time to several great princes,

who are disputing about the homage and fief itself among one another, as happens so often in Germany and Italy. Hence it is that Asia is almost always in a pacific state, if we except the invasions of conquerors, who are in that part of the world yet more cruel than in Europe, and the unavoidable quarrels, more especially among the Turks and Persians, about frontiers.

Those who accurately and nicely examine into the capital events of this world will easily remark that, since the year 1600, there have been forty considerable wars in Europe, and but one of any consequence in Great Tartary, China, and the Indies, countries of immense extent, better peopled, and much richer. In a word, there has been no war on account of trade in Asia, Africa, or America, but has been kindled by the Europeans.

The marriage of Maximilian I., afterwards emperor of Germany, with Mary of Burgundy, had been for three ages the occasion of a perpetual difference between France and Austria. The American and Asiatic trade was afterwards fresh ground for discord in Europe. The system of the balance of power in Europe, which is at present the cause and pretext of so many leagues and wars, first made its appearance during the disputes between Charles V. and Francis I.

Henry VIII., king of England, who, seeing himself between two potent rivals, labored to prevent each from acquiring a superiority, took for his

device an archer, with his bow bent, and this motto: "Whom I defend shall be my master;" but if Henry held the balance, it was with an unsteady hand.

Henry IV. of France, oppressed by the house of Austria, was constantly aided by Queen Elizabeth, and the states of Holland owed their liberty to the protection of these two princes. So long as these three powers dreaded the superiority of the house of Austria, England and Holland continued to be constant allies of France. If this union was now and then weakened, it was never totally destroyed, their real interests being so very apparent.

The Protestant states of Germany were also the natural friends of France, for ever since the time of Charles V. they had reason to fear that the house of Austria might make a patrimony of the empire, and consequently oppress them. The Swedes were invited into Germany by them, by France, nay, even by Rome itself, which stood in awe of the imperial authority, always disputed, and always prevailing in Italy. About the middle of the last century, England and Holland with pleasure beheld the imperial branch of the house of Austria obliged to give up Lusacia to the electors of Saxony, the prefecture of Alsace to France by the Treaty of Münster, and Roussillon taken by force of arms from the Spanish branch of that house by Louis XIII.

Cromwell the usurper did not oppose this alliance; for he remained firm to the French interest, though he had murdered the brother-in-law of Louis

XIII., and the uncle of Louis the Great. Everybody almost wished France success against the Austrians, until Louis XIV. became formidable from his conquests, which he owed to his having chosen the greatest generals and most able ministers of his time, as well as to the weakness of his enemies.

In 1667, he deprived the house of Austria of one-half of Flanders, and of Franche-Comté the following year. It was now that the Dutch, becoming of some consequence from their courage in war, and their industry in trade, no longer dreaded their old masters, the Austrians, and began to entertain some fears of their ancient protectors, the French. They compelled Louis XIV., by dint of their negotiations, to accede to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and boasted of their success.

This was the first occasion of that monarch's sudden invasion of Holland in 1672, in which project he easily induced Charles II., king of England, to concur; who not only wanted money, but had also some grounds of complaint against Holland. He preferred the chastisement of the Dutch to the conquest of Flanders, which he might perhaps have kept, as he had some claims on that territory; but England and Holland were soon after reunited, and ever since always opposed the French interest. The glory and power of Louis XIV. increased, and so in proportion did the number of his enemies.

The same system of the balance of power so long opposed against the Austrians was now turned

against the French. Ever since 1689, William III., king of England and stadtholder of Holland, had been the soul of a party which conspired against France, Spain, Germany, England, Holland, and Savoy; nay even Pope Innocent XI. Louis the Great supported himself against all these enemies. He had, for a long time, nearly four hundred thousand men in arms, and upwards of one hundred ships of the line; of which, when he came to the throne, he had only six; and though his marine received such a violent shock at La Hogue, in 1692, and the India company, which had been established by the celebrated Colbert, was destroyed; yet he made a peace at Ryswick, neither shameful nor unprofitable. The system of general equilibrium, composed of so many particular views, produced this peace, and engendered a scheme of politics unheard of before.

The last prince of the Austrian branch, who now sat on the Spanish throne, had no children, and was in bad health. The courts of London and The Hague entered into a compact with Louis XIV., whom they did not love, whereby, in conjunction with him, they disposed of the Spanish dominions. These were shared among several powers, and a part given to Louis, for fear he should have put himself in a condition to seize the whole. Charles II., king of Spain, resenting such an insult upon his weakness as that of dividing his estate even while he lived, named the

son of the elector of Bavaria as his heir. This child was a grandson of Philip III.

The choice appeared just and prudent; the house of Austria might murmur, but had it not in its power to avenge itself. The dissensions which must have inevitably followed from the partition, were now no longer to be feared; and the equilibrium of Europe was preserved: but this young prince died three months after his being declared heir to the Spanish succession.

A second partition treaty was then set on foot, whereby the Milanese was given to the house of Lorraine, and the latter territory ceded to France, part of which project we have seen carried into execution.

The king of Spain, feeling himself drawing near his end, though in the flower of his age, proposed to leave his crown to the archduke Charles, his wife's nephew, second son of the emperor Leopold. So strongly did the system of equilibrium predominate, that he did not dare to leave his dominions to the eldest son, being certain that the fear of seeing Spain, the Indies, the empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy united under one prince would raise the rest of Europe in arms. He requested the emperor Leopold to send his second son, Charles, to Madrid, at the head of ten thousand men; but this proceeding neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy would have allowed, being all for the partition. It happened, in these affairs of the utmost

importance to the interest of two great kings, as it often does on very slight occasions in private life; they had words, and came to an open rupture. The German pride could not digest the Spanish haughtiness; the countess of Pelitz, who governed the queen of Spain, alienated, instead of securing, the affections of the people, whom she should have attached to her side; and they were still more disgusted by the arrogance of the court of Vienna.

The young archduke commonly spoke of the Spaniards in a very disrespectful manner; and thence was taught, that princes should be very cautious how they expressed themselves. His speeches were transmitted to Madrid, not without rancor, by the bishop of Lerida, ambassador from Spain to the court of Vienna, who was disgusted with the Germans. He wrote invectives against the Austrian councils much more bitter than ever the archduke had thrown out against the Spaniards. "The disposition of Leopold's ministers," says he in one of his letters, "resembles the horns of the bulls in my country; they are little, hard, and crooked." This letter was made public; the bishop was recalled, and, on his return to Madrid, increased more than ever the aversion of the Spaniards against the Germans. Many trifling matters, for such will always intermingle themselves among the most important affairs, contributed to bring about the great change which happened in Europe, and made way for that

revolution whereby Spain and the Indies was forever lost to the house of Austria.

Cardinal Portocarero, and the rest of the Spanish grandees, who were most in favor at court, united to prevent the dismembering of the Spanish monarchy, and persuaded Charles II. to prefer a grandson of Louis XIV. to a prince very distant from, and incapable of defending, them. This disposition was not annulling the solemn renunciation of the crown of Spain, which had been made by the mother and wife of Louis XIV., because it had been made only to prevent the two kingdoms from being united under their eldest born, who was not now selected. Thus justice was done to the rights of blood, at the same time that the Spanish monarchy was preserved entire.

The king, who was a scrupulous man, consulted the best divines, and they agreed in opinion with his council. At length, infirm as he was, he wrote to Pope Innocent XII., stating the case, and asking his advice. The pope, who imagined he saw the liberty of Italy established in proportion as the house of Austria was weakened, advised him in his answer to give the preference to the house of France. The pope's letter was dated July 16, 1700. He wisely treated the king's case of conscience as a matter of state, while the king himself, who with good reason was desirous of having justice on his side, treated this very important matter of state as a case of conscience.

Louis XIV. had notice of this step; the court of Versailles had no other share in this memorable event; there was not then even a French ambassador at Madrid; for Marshal d'Harcourt had been recalled six months before, his longer continuance there being disagreeable, because of the partition treaty, which France seemed ready to support by force of arms. All Europe was mistaken in supposing this treaty dictated at the court of Versailles. The expiring monarch had consulted only the interest of his kingdom and the desires of his subjects. This will, which caused such an alteration in the affairs of Europe, was kept so secret that Count Harrach, the imperial ambassador, still flattered himself that the archduke was the declared successor, and awaited quite a while the issue of the council assembled immediately after the king's death, before he was undeceived.

The duke d'Abrantes approached him with open arms; the ambassador no longer doubted of the archduke's being a king, until he heard the duke d'Abrantes, as he embraced him, express himself thus: "I come from taking leave of the house of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years spent in war and negotiations about some frontiers of the Spanish dominions, France saw herself, by a stroke of a pen, put into possession of the whole monarchy, without treaty or cabal, nay, without so much as having hoped for that succession. It has been in some meas-

ure the custom thus to publish here the plain truth of a fact hitherto misrepresented by statesmen or historians, according as prejudices or appearances misled them. That which has in so many volumes been set forth of the sums of money lavished by Marshal d'Harcourt, and his bribing the Spanish ministers to come at the will, must be ranked among political lies and popular errors. The minister then at the head of foreign affairs in France has given an authentic attestation of this truth under his own hand; but the king of Spain, in choosing for his successor the grandson of a king who had been so long his enemy, had plainly employed his thoughts on the consequences which the idea of a general equilibrium must necessarily excite.

The duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., had been called to the succession of Spain only because there seemed to be no hope of his ever rising to the throne of France; and the same will which, in case of the failure of princes of the blood of Louis XIV., bequeathed the crown to the archduke Charles, afterward emperor by the name of Charles VI., expressly stipulates that the empire and Spain should never be reunited under the same sovereign.

That branch of the house of Austria which sat on the imperial throne, seeing itself deprived of the Spanish succession, except as a substitute, raised almost all Europe in arms against the house of Bourbon. That very Leopold who neither would nor could send ten thousand men into Spain to secure

the throne to his son, the archduke, soon brought a hundred thousand into the field. The duke of Savoy, father-in-law of the duke of Burgundy and of the king of Spain, shortly afterward entered into a confederacy against his sons-in-law. England and Holland, which had declared for the archduke, sustained the chief burden of this long war, until at length that equilibrium which had been a pretext for so many disputes, became itself the basis of a peace. The very thing happened which had been foreseen by Charles II. The archduke, to whom the Spanish monarchy had been provisionally left, and for whom a bloody war had been kindled, became emperor in 1711, by the death of his elder brother, Joseph. That faction which in England was called Tory, and which opposed the Whig administration, made use of this opportunity to dispose Queen Anne to lavish no more blood and treasure of the English in a cause whereby the emperor Charles VI. must acquire more power than ever had been vested in the hands of Charles VI., and by a continuance, in which she also acted in direct opposition to the views and real interest of England, as well as the rest of Europe, which had been apprehensive of seeing Spain and the empire united under the same crowned head. But an incident from which such important consequences could never have been expected contributed more than anything else to bring about the great work of peace.

One of the chief causes of the will of Charles II.

had been the haughtiness of a German lady. The peace of Europe was owing to the insolence with which an English lady treated Queen Anne. The duchess of Marlborough put the queen into a violent passion; so that she lost all patience, and the Tories turned the affair to their own advantage. The queen changed her ministers and her measures. England, after being so long the bitter enemy of France, was the first to conclude a peace with her — at Utrecht: and soon afterward that very useful victory obtained by Marshal Villars, at Denain, in the neighborhood of Landrecy, determined the states of Holland and the emperor Charles VI. to make a general peace.

Louis XIV., after being persecuted for ten years by evil fortune, after having been reduced in 1710 to such distress that he was forced to abandon the support of his grandson, and having had the mortification to find himself not attended to, unless he joined with the allies against his own blood, had yet at length the satisfaction to see his grandson firmly settled upon the throne of Spain.

But there was a necessity for dividing this monarchy, which had been given to Philip V. only in hope that it might not be dismembered. By the treaties of Rastatt and Baden, made in 1714, the emperor was to keep all the Austrian Netherlands, with the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, in spite of that ancient law which provides that this kingdom shall never be held with the empire. Charles V. had submitted to this law in receiving the investi-

ture of Naples from the pope, before he had assumed the imperial crown. But this powerful vassal of the pope found not much difficulty in obtaining a release from his oath; and Charles VI., afterward experienced as much civility from the court of Rome as Charles V. had done.

Sicily, another branch which had been lopped from the Spanish monarchy, was then bequeathed to the duke of Savoy, who had afterward Sardinia in exchange for it. At length Minorca and Gibraltar, having been taken by the English, remained to that nation. By this peace the king of Prussia was put in possession of the Upper Guelderland. The Dutch acquired for their barrier Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, Dendermonde, etc. The emperor, besides ceding to them the defence of these places, paid them annually two million five hundred thousand livres; a convention scarcely to be paralleled in history, that a sovereign should give up his strong towns and his money to his allies, instead of garrisoning the places with his troops.

The elector of Bavaria, father of him who was afterward emperor under the name of Charles VII., and his brother, the elector of Cologne, were reinstated in their principalities and rights, which they had lost by siding with France, and being unfortunate. The emperor Joseph had, of his own authority, and independent of the consent of the three colleges, put them under the ban of the empire. Thus vast advantages were acquired by all the potentates.

The principal one, and yet it was not sufficiently respected, was the preservation of mankind. A hundred thousand men at least must have been annually sacrificed in the course of a war wherein six hundred thousand men were constantly in arms on both sides in Italy, Spain, Germany, and Flanders. It is an undoubted truth that in ten years' time the southern parts of Europe had lost above one million men in the flower of their age.

The twenty years which followed the Peace of Utrecht enabled each nation to repair its losses; a happy series of years, the felicity of which met with very slight interruption. England increased her trade by the cession made to her by France, of Newfoundland and Acadia, also by the Assiento contract, which put her in possession of the negro trade in Spanish America, and, in fine, by the liberty which she extorted from Spain of annually sending a ship to Porto Bello, whereby she carried on an immense contraband trade.

France had above eighteen hundred merchant ships employed in 1740; whereas at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, she had not more than three hundred. Her trade and manufactures flourished. A new East India company arose out of the ruins of a system of finances which in 1719 had impoverished one part of the nation and enriched the other; and in 1725 it advanced to the government ten millions of livres, and was possessed of thirty-nine millions in ships, storehouses, and merchantable goods. This

company rebuilt and enlarged the town of Pondicherry, which is at present inhabited by a hundred thousand people, regularly fortified, and defended by four hundred and fifty pieces of canon. They caused the harbor of Port l'Orient in Brittany to be cleansed, and raised the place from a small village to a trading town. They were possessed of sixty ships, from four hundred to eight hundred tons. In fine, during the space of twenty-eight years they had been establishing a nursery for seamen, and a source of continual abundance; for while all the stock proprietors received a considerable interest from the cultivation of tobacco, all the profits of the company were expended in making new establishments. They could be charged with nothing but superfluous expenses, which are strong proofs of wealth. The commerce of the French colonies alone produced a circulation of one hundred millions, and enriched the commonwealth by the commodities transported from one hemisphere to the other. Since the year 1712, some of these colonies have increased double.

Almost every town in France was embellished, and the whole kingdom was apparently more populous, having, during this long era, received no disturbance from foreign wars. The falling out between the duke of Orleans, then regent, and Spain, in 1718, was of but short duration, nor was it attended with unfortunate consequences. It was not a quarrel between nation and nation, but between two princes; in Paris it was hardly noticed; the people

there attended to nothing but the great game of stocks, which made and undid so many great fortunes.

The views of Spain were to recover the provinces which had been rent from her formerly; and this was not a time for her to make the attempt. It was in vain that her troops made a descent upon the island of Sardinia, which then belonged to the emperor, and afterward upon Sicily, of which the duke of Savoy had been put in possession by the Peace of Utrecht. All the fruit of these armaments was that the emperor Charles VI., assisted by an English squadron, and aided even by the regent of France, seized upon Sicily for himself, though by the Peace of Utrecht it had been ceded to the house of Savoy, the princes of which, after having been four years kings of Sicily, became kings of Sardinia, which they still hold.

Never at any time were so many negotiations on foot as now; never so many treaties; nor so many jealousies. The interest of each nation seemed to change with that of individuals. The English government, which had been closely united with that ministry which during the reign of Louis XIV. had done everything to fix Philip V. upon the throne of Spain, now changed sides: matters went so far from following their natural channel that the court of Madrid flung herself into the arms of her rival and enemy, the court of Vienna, who had so long con-

tested with her the sovereignty of Naples and lately deprived her of the island of Sicily.

In short, this very emperor Charles VI., whose firm intention was always to prevent the new house of Spain from having any footing in Italy, was so far prevailed upon, though of a different inclination, as to consent that a son of Philip V. and of his second wife, Elizabeth of Parma, should be introduced, with six thousand Spaniards, into the duchies of Parma and Placentia, though the succession was not as yet open; he also gave the eventual investiture of it, as well as that of the great dukedom of Tuscany, by a solemn treaty, which had been long upon the carpet, in 1725, to Don Carlos; and he received two hundred thousand Spanish pistoles, by way of purchase for an engagement which was one day to cost him so dear. All the proceedings of this agreement were surprising: two rival houses were united without any confidence in each other. The English, after having done all in their power to dethrone Philip V. and dispossessed him of Gibraltar and Minorca, which in spite of Spain they still keep, were the mediators of this peace. It was signed by Riperda, a Dutchman, who was then all-powerful in Spain, and who was disgraced after having signed it.

While the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon thus increased her dominions by a transient union with her enemy, she had a misunderstanding with the French branch, in spite of the ties of blood and interest whereby they should sooner or later

have been reunited. It was thus the two branches of the house of Austria had been formerly divided. France, having at that time joined with England, had no real allies; but in the year 1727 things began to move in their natural channel. The French ministry strengthened the bonds of friendship subsisting between the two houses of France; and that ministry appearing altogether equitable and disinterested, became insensibly the mediators of Europe.

A war broke out between England and Spain, occasioned by a commercial dispute. The Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, before which town they wasted their time and their forces, for the English had rendered it impregnable. France was the mediatrix; she saved the honor of the Spaniards by prevailing on them to raise the siege, and reconciling the disputing parties by treaty.

The emperor would have eluded the promise he had made of ceding Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia to Don Carlos. The French ministry engaged him to keep his word: they also artfully prevailed upon the English, though avowed enemies to the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, to transport six thousand Spaniards into Italy, thereby to secure to Don Carlos his new territory; and, in fine, that prince was shortly after conveyed thither, together with his troops, by an English fleet. In 1731 he was acknowledged sovereign of Parma, and heir to the dukedom of Tuscany. The great duke of Florence, the last of the Medici family, accepted an heir, which had

been given him without his having been once consulted.

Some time before, the French ministry had determined the emperor in his resolution of suppressing the East India Company, which had been established at Ostend. It was the interest of all trading nations, whereof France was not then the least considerable. She enjoyed the serene glory of making up all differences between her neighbors, when the death of Augustus II., king of Poland, gave a total change to the affairs of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, then nearly fourscore years of age, made it his whole study to preserve this happy peace to France, and to all Europe. His turn of mind, his character, his time of life, and his glory, which was founded in moderation, all rendered him averse to war. Walpole, the prime minister of England, was exactly of the same way of thinking: Spain was possessed of all she had required. The North was in profound peace, when the death of Augustus II., king of Poland, replunged Europe into that series of misfortunes from which she is rarely exempt for ten years together.

King Stanislaus, father-in-law of Louis XV., already nominated to the crown of Poland in 1704, had been chosen in the most legal and solemn manner; but the emperor Charles VI. obliged the states to proceed to another election, which was supported by the Imperial and Russian arms. The son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and nephew

of Charles VI., carried it from his competitor. Thus the house of Austria, which had found itself unable to keep Spain and the West Indies, was yet sufficiently strong to wrest Poland from the father-in-law of Louis XV. France saw the same accident repeated which had happened to Prince Armand de Conti, who though solemnly elected, yet being without money and troops, and little better recommended than supported, lost that kingdom, to which he had been called by the voice of the people. King Stanislaus went to Dantzic to support his election; but the majority by whom he had been chosen soon allowed themselves to be borne down by the minority that were against him. This country, where the people are enslaved; where the nobility sell their votes; where there is never money enough in the public treasury to maintain an army; where the laws are without vigor; where their liberty is only productive of divisions; this same country, I say, boasts in vain their warlike nobility, who can bring into the field one hundred thousand men.

Ten thousand men soon dispersed the partisans of Stanislaus. The kingdom of Poland, which in the preceding age looked upon the Russians with contempt, were now intimidated and directed by them. The empire of Russia had become formidable since it had been remodelled by Peter the Great. Ten thousand disciplined slaves of Russia made the Polish nobility disappear; and Stanislaus, having taken refuge in the city of Dantzic, was quickly besieged

by forty thousand Russians: the emperor of Germany, united with Russia, thought himself certain of success. To preserve the balance of power, France should have sent thither a numerous army by sea; but England could not, without taking part, have tamely looked on amidst such immense preparations. Cardinal Fleury, willing to keep well with that crown, did not choose to have the shame of entirely abandoning the cause of Stanislaus, nor yet did he incline to hazard any large number of troops in his defence. He therefore fitted out a squadron, on board of which were embarked fifteen hundred men commanded by a brigadier. This officer did not look upon his commission in a serious light; so that, judging, as he approached Dantzic, that he should only sacrifice his little army, without reaping any advantage, he retired into Denmark.

Count de Plelo, ambassador from France to the king of Denmark, beheld with indignation a retreat which seemed so mortifying to the nation. He was a young man, well versed in polite learning and philosophy, inspired with sentiments of a heroic nature, and deserving of a better fate. He resolved to succor Dantzic with this small force against a powerful army, or to die in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to Count de Maurepas, the minister of state, which concluded thus: "I am certain I shall never return; to you I recommend my wife and children." He arrived before Dantzic, landed his men, and attacked the Russian army. He

fell in the field, as he had predicted, covered with wounds; and those of his followers that were not killed were made prisoners of war. His letter, which was very affecting, and the account of his death, reached Paris together. It drew tears from the eyes of the whole council: he was unanimously admired and lamented. I remember, some time after, when his widow appeared with her children in the public walks, the multitude gathered round with acclamations of tenderness, fully expressive of the veneration in which they held his memory.

Dantzic was taken: the ambassador from France and Poland, who was then in the place, was made prisoner of war, without any respect being paid to the privileges of his character. King Stanislaus escaped, but not without infinite danger, and by means of more disguises than one; after having seen a price set by the Muscovite general upon his head, in a free country, of which he was a native, and in the heart of a nation to the rule of which he had been every way legally elected.

The French ministry had totally lost that reputation so necessary to the support of grandeur, had they not avenged such an insult; but that insult would have been ill-timed, if not advantageous. Their distance from each other prevented the Muscovites from feeling the indignation of France; and policy directed it should be turned against the emperor, which was effectually done in Germany and Italy.

France entered into alliance with Spain and Sardinia. These three powers had different interests, but all united in the one point of weakening the house of Austria. The dukes of Savoy had been a long time increasing their dominions by slow degrees; sometimes by hiring troops to the emperors, and sometimes by declaring against them. King Charles Emanuel had his eye upon the Milanese, and it had been promised him by the ministries of Versailles and of Madrid. Philip V. of Spain, or, more properly speaking, his spouse, Elizabeth of Parma, had hoped for some better establishment for her children than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had no advantage in view but his own glory, the humbling of his enemies, and the triumph of his allies. Nobody then foresaw that Lorraine would be the fruit of this war. We are almost always guided by events, whereof we seldom have the direction. Never was any negotiation brought to so quick a conclusion as that which united these three monarchs. England and Holland, which had been generally accustomed to side with Austria against France, forsook her upon this occasion. This was the effect of that character for equity and moderation which the court of France had acquired. It was owing to the notion conceived by her natural enemies, that her views were purely pacific and free from all ambitious views, that they kept quiet, even while she was at war. Nothing could have done more honor to Cardinal Fleury than his being able to

persuade the different powers that France might wage war against the emperor without endangering the liberties of Europe: therefore they looked quietly upon the rapid success of the French arms. They were masters of the Rhine, and conjunctively with Spain and Savoy ruled in Italy, where Marshal Villars died at the age of eighty-four, after having taken Milan. His successor, Marshal Coigni, obtained two victories, while the Spanish general, the duke de Montemar, gained a battle at Bitonto in the kingdom of Naples, whence he acquired a new surname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged heir to Tuscany, was soon declared king of Naples. Thus did the emperor lose almost all Italy by having given a king to Poland; and a son of the king of Spain was in two campaigns secured in possession of the two Sicilies; kingdoms which had been so often taken and retaken, and which, for two centuries past, had been always claimed by the house of Austria.

This war in Italy is the only one which was terminated with any solid success to the French since the time of Charlemagne. There was this reason for it: the guardian of the Alps, now become the most powerful prince in these territories, was on their side: they were assisted by the best troops in the service of the crown of Spain, and their armies were always well supplied. The emperor was then glad to subscribe to such terms of peace as were offered him by victorious France. Cardinal Fleury, who had wisdom enough to prevent England and Hol-

land from taking part in the war, had also the satisfaction of seeing it brought to a happy issue without their interposition.

By this peace Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and the two Sicilies. Europe had been long accustomed to see kingdoms given away and exchanged. The inheritance of the house of Medici, which had been formerly awarded to Don Carlos, was now made over to Francis, duke of Lorraine, the emperor's intended son-in-law. The last grand duke of Tuscany asked, upon his death-bed, if they did not intend him a third heir, and what child it pleased the empire and France to make for him. Not that the grand duchy of Tuscany looked upon itself as a fief of the empire; but the emperor regarded it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the holy see, to which the last duke of Parma had paid homage; so much do the rights of princes change with the times. By this peace the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which were the birthright of Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and a princess of Parma, were yielded as his property to the emperor Charles VI.

The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who had laid his account in having the Milanese, to which his family, which had gradually aggrandized itself, had some old pretensions, obtained only a small share of it—the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langhes; he derived his claim to this dukedom from a daughter of Philip II., king of Spain, his

ancestor. France had also some old pretensions descended to them from Louis XII., the natural heir of the duchy. Philip V. likewise had his claims founded upon the enfeoffments renewed to four kings of Spain, his predecessors; but these pretensions yielded to convenience and public advantage. The emperor kept possession of the Milanese, notwithstanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which enjoins that the emperor should always grant the investiture of them, as lord paramount; otherwise he might, in process of time, swallow up all the feudal dependencies of his crown.

By this treaty King Stanislaus renounced the kingdom to which he had been twice elected, and in the possession of which his friends could not preserve him. He retained the title of king; but he wanted a more solid indemnity; an indemnity more advantageous to France than to himself. Cardinal Fleury seemed at that time contented with the duchy of Bar, which was yielded to Stanislaus by the duke of Lorraine, and the reversion to the crown of France; but the then reigning duke of Lorraine was not to yield up his duchy till put in full possession of Tuscany. Thus the giving up of Lorraine depended upon many casualties; and very little profit arose from the greatest success and most favorable conjunctures. The cardinal was encouraged to make his own use of these advantages: he demanded Lorraine upon the same terms with the duchy of Bar, and he obtained it; it only cost him a little ready

money, and a pension of four million five hundred thousand livres granted to Francis until the duchy of Tuscany should devolve to him. Thus the reunion of Lorraine with France, which had before been so often tried in vain, was irrecoverably completed. By this proceeding a Polish king was transplanted into Lorraine, the reigning dukes of Lorraine were removed into Tuscany, and a second son of Spain mounted the throne of Naples. The medal of Trajan thus inscribed, "*Regna assignata,*" "kingdoms disposed of," might have been renewed by France.

The emperor Charles VI. thought he had gained considerably by this treaty: he had been laboring ever since the year 1713 to engage all the states of the empire, and the princes, his neighbors, to guarantee the indivisible possession of his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who had been married to the duke of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, in 1736. The emperor hoped to see his almost expiring race revived in the person of his eldest daughter's son, which son might preserve the patrimony of the house of Austria, and rejoin it to the empire. With this view he had contributed to raise the elector of Saxony, who had married one of his nieces, to the throne of Poland by force of arms; and procured the guaranty of that famous act of succession, entitled "The Caroline Pragmatic Sanction." It was guaranteed by England, Holland, Russia, Denmark, and the states of the empire; he even flattered himself that he should obtain an equiv-

alent to a formal acceptation from the elector of Bavaria, which elector was on that account to intermarry with his niece, daughter of the emperor Joseph. In short, he thought he had secured everything, when he had obtained the guaranty of France; although Prince Eugene, a little before his death, had told him he should have an army of two hundred thousand soldiers, and no guaranty.

He pressed the French ministry, however, to assure, by treaty, the order established in the Austrian succession; and they consented. The elector of Bavaria, who imagined he had lawful claims upon the Austrian succession, in prejudice to the daughters of Charles VI., also entreated the protection of the court of France, which was at that time of sufficient weight to settle all their rights. That ministry, in 1737, gave the emperor to understand that by this guaranty nothing was intended that could injure the pretensions of the house of Bavaria; and they reminded him, that in 1732, when he prevailed upon the states of the empire to accede to this Pragmatic Sanction, he had formally declared he would not prejudice the rights of any person whatever. They entreated him to do justice to the house of Bavaria, and their remonstrances were for that time made in secret. Those sparks, which were so soon to cause a most dreadful combustion, were now concealed beneath the embers.

All the princes of Christendom were at peace, if we except the disputes just kindling between Spain

and England about their American commerce. The court of France was still looked upon as the general arbitrator of Europe.

The emperor, without consulting the empire, made war upon the Turks. It was unfortunate for him; but the mediation of France saved him on the very brink of the precipice to which he had been driven. M. Villeneuve, her ambassador to the Porte, went to Hungary, and in 1739 concluded a peace with the grand vizier, of which his imperial majesty stood in much need.

Almost at the same time France restored peace to the republic of Genoa, menaced with a civil war: she likewise subdued and tempered the Corsicans, who had thrown off the Genoese yoke. The island of Corsica, which had long since assumed the title of a kingdom, had submitted, about the end of the thirteenth century, to the Genoese; a richer people, but less warlike. The Corsicans, who were always intractable, were now in open rebellion, under pretence of their being oppressed: their last insurrection had continued ever since 1725. A German, a native of the county of Marck, called Theodore de Neuhoff, having travelled all over Europe in search of adventures, chanced to be at Leghorn in 1736: he held a correspondence with the malcontents, and offered them his service. Being employed by them for that purpose, he embarked for Tunis, and returned to Corsica with a reinforcement of arms, ammunition, and money; whereupon he was declared

king; he was crowned with a laurel wreath, acknowledged by the whole island, and carried on the war. The Genoese senate set a price upon his head; but being neither able to procure his assassination, nor yet to reduce the Corsicans, implored the emperor's protection. As this appeared a dangerous step, because the emperor, looking upon himself as lord paramount of Italy, would have set himself up as supreme judge between Genoa and the rebels, the senate had then recourse to France, who sent into that island successively Count de Boissieux, and the marquis de Maillebois, afterward a marshal of France. Theodore was driven out of the island, the malcontents quieted, at least for awhile, and all things were peaceably settled.

While France was interposing her good offices between the Genoese and Corsicans, she was doing the same for Spain and England, who were just embarking in a sea war, much more destructive than the claims about which they had quarrelled were valuable. In 1735, France had employed herself in settling the disputes between Spain and Portugal; none of her neighbors had any right to complain of her; all nations looked upon her as their mediatrix and common parent.

CHAPTER II.

CHARLES VI. DIES: FOUR POWERS DISPUTE FOR THE SUCCESSION—THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY ACKNOWLEDGED IN HER HEREDITARY DOMINIONS — SILESIA SEIZED BY THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

In the month of October, 1740, Emperor Charles VI. died, at the age of fifty-five. It is necessary for princes, as the peace of their dominions depends upon their respective lives, to know that this monarch's death was occasioned by overeating himself at an entertainment. It was accident that brought him to the grave, and reduced the empire to the brink of destruction. As the death of the king of Poland, Augustus II., had caused great disturbances, it is evident that that of Charles VI., the last prince of the house of Austria, must have produced far greater revolutions. In the first place, Italy expected to become independent, a condition to which it had long aspired. Several principalities, which were looked upon as fiefs of the empire, disclaimed this subjection. Rome especially, plundered by Charles V., severely treated by his successors, oppressed and fleeced by Joseph, brother of Charles VI., now flattered herself with the hope of being delivered from the pretensions of the German emperors, who, ever since Otho I., have imagined themselves successors to the rights of the ancient Cæsars; and, indeed, the German chancery looks upon the other kingdoms of

Europe as provinces severed from the empire. In their protocol they give the title of Majesty to no king whatever.

The elector of Cologne styles himself Chancellor of Italy, and the elector of Trier assumes the title of Chancellor of Gaul. The German king, whom they choose at Frankfort, is declared King of the Romans, though he has not the smallest jurisdiction in Rome; and he exacts a tribute of all the provinces of Italy, when he has forces sufficient to compel the payment. Such a number of equivocal rights had been the source of all calamities and losses Italy had sustained for the space of seven hundred years. It seemed, therefore, probable, that the confusion into which Germany was in danger of being thrown by the death of Charles VI. would give to Italy that extensive liberty for which the people were so very ambitious. The new revolution, which everybody foresaw would follow from the extinction of the house of Austria, might not only annihilate the rights and the name of the Roman Empire; but it even appeared doubtful, whether Germany was not likely to be divided among several princes, all so potent as to find it difficult to acknowledge a supreme head, or at least to leave that head possessed of the same authority as his predecessors had enjoyed.

It seems, therefore, that the inheritance of the house of Austria could not possibly avoid being dismembered. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms which had long been elect-

ive, but were rendered hereditary by the Austrian princes; of Austrian Suabia, called Austria Anterior; of Upper and Lower Austria, conquered in the thirteenth century; of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, the Burgau, the Four Forest Towns, the Breisgau, Friuli, Tyrol, the Milanese, the dukedoms of Mantua and Parma. With regard to Naples and Sicily, these two kingdoms were possessed by Don Carlos. Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI., founded her rights on the law of nature, which pointed out her being called to her paternal inheritance, and on the Pragmatic Sanction, by which this law was confirmed, and on the guarantee of so many princes.

Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession by virtue of the will of Ferdinand, the first brother of Charles V. By this will, Ferdinand, in default of male issue, named his eldest daughter, the archduchess Anne, wedded to a duke of Bavaria, heiress to his dominions. From her the elector Charles was descended; and as there were no male heirs left of the house of Austria, he claimed to inherit in right of his fourth ancestor.

Rights of a more recent nature were alleged by Augustus III., king of Poland and elector of Saxony; these were the rights of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI. If Maria Theresa looked upon the Pragmatic Sanction as a sacred and inviolable law, the archduchess, queen of Poland, had another Prag-

matic Sanction previously regulated in her favor by the father of Joseph and of Charles. It had been settled, in 1703, that the daughter of Joseph should inherit preferably to the daughter of the younger brother, Charles VI., in case her two brothers should die without male issue. After Charles mounted the imperial throne, he abolished this sanction; therefore, after his death, they might set aside that which he had made. His brother's daughters had been in his power, nor did he marry them till he made them renounce their rights: but a renunciation of such a nature must be considered as compulsory, and consequently illegal. On every side they pleaded rights of blood, testamentary dispositions, family compacts, the laws of Germany, and the law of nations.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to the whole succession of the house of Austria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II., daughter of the emperor Maximilian II., a princess from whom Philip V. was descended by the female line. It was indeed an extraordinary revolution in the affairs of Europe, to see the house of Bourbon laying claim to the whole inheritance of the house of Austria. Louis XV. might have pretended to this succession by as just a title as any other prince, since he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wife of Louis XIII. and likewise by the wife of Louis XIV., but it was his business to act rather as an arbitrator and protector, than as a competitor; for by that

means he had it in his power to determine the fate of this succession, and of the imperial throne, in concert with one-half of Europe; whereas, had he entered the lists as a pretender, he would have had all Europe against him. This cause of so many crowned heads was published by public memorials in every part of the Christian world; there was not a prince, nor hardly a private person, who did not interest himself in the dispute; and nothing less was apprehended than a general war. But how greatly was human policy confounded, when a storm arose from a quarter where nobody expected it!

In the beginning of this century, the emperor Leopold, availing himself of the right which the German emperors had constantly attributed to themselves of creating kings, erected ducal Prussia into a kingdom, in 1701, in favor of Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg. At that time Prussia was only a large desert; but Frederick William II., its second king, pursued a plan of politics different from most of the princes of his time: he spent above five millions of livres in clearing the lands that were incumbered with wood, in building towns, and in filling them with inhabitants: he sent for families from Suabia and Franconia: he brought more than sixteen thousand men from Salzburg, and furnished them with all necessary implements of labor. In this manner, by forming a new state, and by extraordinary economy, he created, as it were, a power of another kind: he laid up constantly about sixty

thousand German crowns, which, in a reign of twenty-eight years, amounted to an immense treasure: what he did not put into his coffers he spent in raising and maintaining eighty thousand men, whom he taught a new kind of discipline, though he did not employ them in the field: but his son, Frederick III., made a proper use of his father's preparatives: everybody knew that this young prince, having been in disgrace in his father's reign, had devoted all his leisure hours to the culture of his mind, and to improving those extraordinary talents with which he had been blessed by nature. Those talents, which indeed would have highly graced a private subject, the public saw and admired; but neither his political nor military abilities were yet perceived; so that the house of Austria entertained no more distrust of him than of the late king of Prussia.

He came to the crown three months before the succession of the house of Austria and of the empire was open: he foresaw the general confusion; and, on the emperor's decease, he did not lose a moment, but marched his army directly into Silesia, one of the richest provinces which the daughter of Charles VI. possessed in Germany. He laid claim to four duchies, which his ancestors had formerly held by purchases, or by family compacts. His predecessors had repeatedly and solemnly renounced all pretensions thereto, because they were not in a condition to make them good; but, as the present king had power in his hands, he was resolved to reclaim them.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony were all now busy about the election of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria solicited France to procure him at least a share of the Austrian succession. He pretended, indeed, a title to the whole inheritance in his writings, but he dared not demand the whole by his ministers. Maria Theresa, however, the great duke of Tuscany's spouse, immediately took possession of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homages of the states of Austria at Vienna, on Nov. 7, 1740. Bohemia, and the provinces of Italy presented their testimonies of allegiance by their deputies. But she particularly gained the affections of the Hungarians by consenting to take the ancient coronation oath of King Andrew II., made in 1222, and couched in these terms: "If I or any of my successors shall, at any time whatever, violate your privileges, be it permitted, in virtue of this promise, both to you and your descendants, to defend yourselves without being liable to be treated as rebels."

The greater the aversion which the ancestors of the archduchess-queen had always shown to the performance of such engagements, the more this prudent step endeared her to the Hungarians. This people, who had so often attempted to shake off the Austrian yoke, embraced that of Maria Theresa; and after they had been two hundred years engaged in seditions, quarrels, and civil wars they suddenly began to adore their sovereign. The queen was not

crowned till some months after, which ceremony was performed at Presburg, on June 24, 1741; yet her authority was not the less complete: she had already gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability which her ancestors had seldom practised; and she had laid aside that ceremonious and fastidious air which is apt to render princes odious, without procuring them any greater respect. Her aunt, the archduchess, governess of the Netherlands, never admitted anybody to eat at her table; the niece admitted to hers all her ladies and officers of distinction; the deputies of the states were at liberty freely to address her; she never refused audience, nor suffered anybody to depart from her discontented.

Her first care was to secure to the grand duke, her husband, a partnership of her crowns, under the name of co-regent, without diminishing her sovereignty, or violating the Pragmatic Sanction. She mentioned it to the states of Austria the very day she received their oath, and soon after she compassed her design. This princess flattered herself in these beginnings, that the dignities with which she adorned her husband would have smoothed his way to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were greatly diminished and dispersed in the different parts of her vast dominions.

The king of Prussia proposed to her, at first, that she should yield Lower Silesia to him; and, in that case, he offered her his whole credit, his assistance,

his arms, with five millions of French livres, and also to guarantee the remainder of her dominions, and to settle the imperial crown upon her husband. The most experienced statesmen foresaw that, if the queen of Hungary refused such offers, Germany must be thrown into a total confusion; but the blood of so many emperors which flowed through the veins of this princess, would not suffer her even to think of dismembering her patrimony: she was weak, but intrepid; numbers of Austrians, who saw only the outward grandeur, but not the imbecility, of the court of Vienna, haughtily pronounced that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire in six months. Even the ministers of this prince were frightened at the sound of the Austrian name; but the king, who saw plainly that this power was at that time no more than a name, and that the state in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies, marched his army into Silesia in the month of December 1740. They wanted to put this device on his standards, *"Pro Deo & Patria;"* but he struck out *"Pro Deo,"* saying that it was improper thus to intermix the name of God with the quarrels of men; and that his dispute was concerning a province, and not concerning religion. He ordered the Roman eagle in relief to be fixed on the top of a gilded staff, and borne before his regiment of guards, a step which carried with it the appearance of his being necessarily invincible. He harangued his army, endeavoring in every respect to

resemble the ancient Romans. Entering Silesia, he made himself master of almost the whole province, of which they had refused him a part; but nothing as yet was decided.

Marshal Neuperg marched an army of about twenty-four thousand Austrians to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Prussia found himself under the necessity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neisse. Then it was that the Prussian infantry showed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, less strong by half than the Austrian, was entirely broken; the first line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was thought to be lost; all the king's baggage was pillaged, and this prince, in danger of being taken, was carried away by the crowd that surrounded him; but his second line of infantry set everything again to rights, by that unshaken discipline to which they are so well accustomed; by their incessant fire, which is at least five times repeated in a minute, and by fixing their bayonets to their muskets in a moment. They gained the victory; and this event became the signal of a universal combustion.

CHAPTER III.

THE KING OF FRANCE UNITES WITH THE KINGS OF PRUSSIA AND POLAND TO ADVANCE CHARLES ALBERT, ELECTOR OF BAVARIA, TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE: THAT PRINCE IS DECLARED A LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE — HIS ELECTION, HIS SUCCESS, AND VERY RAPID LOSSES.

When the king of Prussia seized upon Silesia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France. It was a mistake, which is often the case when we argue only from probabilities. The king of Prussia hazarded a great deal; this was his own acknowledgment; but he foresaw that France would not let slip so fair an opportunity of seconding him. It was the apparent interest of France to favor her old ally, the elector of Bavaria, whose father had formerly lost all by befriending her against the house of Austria. After the battle of Höchstädt, this very Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, then in his infancy, was made prisoner by the Austrians, who stripped him even of his name of Bavaria. France found her account in avenging him. It seemed easy to procure for him at one and the same time the empire and a part of the Austrian succession. This was a step by which the new house of Austria-Lorraine would be deprived of that superiority which the old one affected to have over the other princes of Europe; it also abolished the old rivalry subsisting between

the dependents of Bourbon and Austria; nay, it was doing more than ever Henry IV. or Cardinal Richelieu had hoped to compass.

This revolution, the foundation of which was not yet laid, was foreseen in the very beginning by Frederick III. of Prussia, on his setting out for Silesia: it is so true that he had not concerted any measures with Cardinal Fleury, that Marquis de Beauveau, who was then at Berlin, whither he had been sent to compliment Frederick on his accession in the name of France, knew not, on the first motion of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederick said to him, on the point of his setting out: "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we will divide." This was the sole beginning of a negotiation then at a distance.

The French ministry hesitated for some time. Cardinal Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was fearful of staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic Sanction, to which he had acceded, and which he had authentically guaranteed, restrained him; yet he might have been encouraged to it by former treaties with Bavaria. It is certain that this war, at which they afterward so warmly inveighed, was loudly demanded by Paris and Versailles. I heard a man of great distinction say: "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the house of Austria, and Cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." These

words were carried to the minister's ears, and piqued him sensibly; nor did he give up the grand point until he found it impossible longer to oppose those who were carrying it into execution. About the end of December, the cardinal gave instructions to the count de Belle-Isle to prepare a plan for negotiating in the empire the means of carrying on a war to fix the elector of Bavaria in the imperial throne, and secure to him part of the Austrian succession. The count demanded eight days to consider it, and then produced his scheme, of which he caused three copies to be made out, one of which was for the cardinal, another for the department of foreign affairs, and the third for himself.

If there could be any dependence on the designs of men, never did the execution of any project appear more certain. The count, afterwards duke de Belle-Isle, demanded, that before the month of June fifty thousand French should have passed the Rhine, marching towards the Danube. He insisted that in this army there should be at least twenty thousand cavalry. He entered, as was always his custom, into a long detail about the means of marching and subsisting these troops; and repeated in every page, that he would rather do nothing than do things by halves. They had nearly six months to prepare for a revolution, which the king of Prussia had already begun in the midst of winter. Saxony seemed disposed to join with France and Prussia; the king of England, elector of Hanover, was to have been compelled to a

neutrality by an army of forty thousand men in readiness to enter his German dominions on the side of Westphalia; while Belle-Isle's army was to have seconded Saxony, Prussia, and Bavaria, by advancing toward the Danube. The elector of Cologne also attached himself to this interest, being that of his brother, the intended emperor. The old elector palatine, who should have obtained for his heirs the king of Prussia's renunciation of his rights to the duchies of Juliers and Bergues, and this under the protection of France, was more than all the rest desirous of seeing Bavaria mount the imperial throne. Everything united to favor his election: he was to be assisted in seizing upon Austrian Suabia and Bohemia; for the imperial dignity alone would have been worth but little. This alliance was to join Spain, in order to put Don Philip, son of Philip V., and nearly related to Louis XV., in possession of Parma and the Milanese. In a word, in 1741, they wanted in a part of Europe, as they had done in 1736, to make a partition of the empire. The same thing had been meditated by England and Holland, conjointly with France, some time before the death of Charles II., king of Spain.

Marshal Belle-Isle was sent to the king of Prussia's camp at Frankfort, and to Dresden, to settle the vast projects which, from the concurrence of so many princes, seemed infallible. He in everything agreed with that august monarch, who, writing of him, says: "I never saw an abler man, whether in council

or the field." He went from him into Saxony, and gained there such an ascendency over the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, that he marched his troops before the signing of the treaty. The marshal negotiated everywhere in Germany; he was the life and soul of that body, which was concerting means of bestowing empire and hereditary honors upon a prince who could do nothing of himself. France gave at one and the same time to the elector of Bavaria money, allies, votes, and armies. He had promised twenty-eight thousand of his own troops, yet could scarcely furnish twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent the army he had promised him; and by letters-patent created him his general, whom he was about to give as head to the empire.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa was scarcely able to oppose the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an imperial city governed by its bishop. This place separates Upper Austria from Bavaria. He advanced as far as Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and some of his parties skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm spread, and threw that city into confusion; they prepared as quickly as possible against a siege; one whole suburb, and a palace bordering on the fortifications were entirely destroyed; the Danube was covered with vessels laden with valuable effects, which were removing to places of greater

security. The elector of Bavaria even sent a summons to Count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that balance to which they had so long pretended. The states-general viewed in silence Marshal Maillebois's army, which was then in Westphalia; as did also the king of England, who was in some fears for the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to succor Maria Theresa; and at the head of this very army, enlisted purposely to assist, he was obliged to abandon her, and sign a treaty of neutrality. His domestics were furnished with passports for themselves and their equipages by the French general to carry them to London, whither the king himself returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland. Not one of the princes, whether within the empire or without, at his time supported that Pragmatic Sanction, which so many of them had guaranteed. Vienna, poorly fortified on that side where it was threatened, could not have held out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany, and the state of public affairs, looked upon the taking of Vienna as a certainty; whereby the assistance which Maria Theresa might otherwise have drawn from the Hungarians would have been cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims settled, and peace restored to the empire, and to Europe.

This princess seemed to grow more and more cour-

ageous in proportion as her ruin seemed to be inevitable. She had quitted Vienna, and threw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and ancestors had treated with so much severity. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presburg, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, who was yet in his cradle, and addressing them in Latin, a language in which she expressed herself perfectly well, spoke nearly in these words: "Forsaken by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relatives, I have no resource but in your fidelity, your courage, and my own constancy; to your trust I surrender the daughter and son of your kings, who from you expect their safety." All the palatines, softened, yet animated by this short speech, drew their sabres, crying out at the same instant: "Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa"—"*Pro rege nostro Maria Theresa mariamur.*" They always give the title of king to their queen; and never, in fact, did princess better deserve that title. They shed tears in taking the oath to defend her; her eyes alone were dry: but when she withdrew with her maids of honor, those tears which the greatness of her soul had hitherto suppressed, burst from her in abundance. She was at that time with child, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorraine, these words, "I as yet know not whether I shall have a single town left, wherein to be brought to bed."

In this condition she excited the zeal of the Hungarians; England and Holland roused in her behalf, and supplied her with money: she corresponded all through the empire; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole kingdom of England was warmed in her favor: the English are not a people who wait to know their sovereign's opinion before they form theirs. A free gift for that princess was proposed by some private persons. The duchess of Marlborough, relict of that duke who had fought for Charles VI., assembled the principal ladies of London, whom she induced to advance for this cause a hundred thousand pounds sterling, forty thousand of which she laid down herself. The queen of Hungary had the firmness to decline accepting the money thus generously offered, and to wait for such sums as might be granted to her by the nation in parliament assembled. It was generally believed that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have advanced to the siege of Vienna. It is the opinion of the king of Prussia, that what the enemy fears should always be carried into execution. This siege was, however, not undertaken, and the enemy turned off toward Bohemia; perhaps it was because the season appeared too far advanced, or because it was intended to preserve a balance of power between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, by leaving

Vienna and Hungary to the one, and the remainder of the German possessions to the other.

The French army, commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and strengthened with twenty thousand Saxons, marched toward Prague in the month of November, 1741; and Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother of the king of Poland, took the place by escalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very extraordinary bodily strength, as well as all his valor and sweetness of temper, was moreover endued with the greatest talents for war. From his reputation only he was, by the unanimous voice of the people, elected duke of Courland: but Russia, having deprived him of the benefit of an election, to which he was presented by a whole province, he consoled himself in the service of France, and the social pleasures of a nation which was not, as yet, sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

To form a proper idea of Count Saxe's character, whose name will be handed down to latest posterity, it is sufficient to observe that, being accused to the king of Prussia at this time of engaging in those petty disputes which almost always divided the generals of the allied armies, he answered the charge in these words, addressed to General Schmettau: "Those who are acquainted with me know that it is more my talent to break a lance in the field than to spin intrigues in a closet."

It was necessary that Prague should be taken in a

few days, or the enterprise be abandoned. They were in want of provisions; the season was far advanced; and the town, though but poorly fortified, could easily resist the first attacks. General Ogilvy, an Irishman by birth, commanded in the place, where he had a garrison of three thousand men. The grand duke of Tuscany marched with an army of thirty thousand men to its relief, November 25. He was already within five leagues of it, when the same night the French and Saxons made an assault upon the town. They made two attacks on one side, under cover of a desperate fire from their artillery, whereby the whole garrison was drawn thither. In the meantime Count Saxe silently applied a ladder to the ramparts of the New Town, in a part very distant from the general scene of action; and the ladder not being long enough, they were obliged to make up the deficiency with hand-barrows. The first man that mounted was M. Chevert, then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Beauce: he was followed by Marshal Broglio's eldest son. They reached the ramparts, and found only one sentinel at some distance; crowds soon followed their example, and they made themselves masters of the place. The whole garrison laid down their arms; and Ogilvy, with his three thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the town from being pillaged; and what was very extraordinary is, that the conquerers and the conquered were mixed together pell-mell for three days: French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohe-

mians walked the streets in common, without distinction, or the shedding of a single drop of blood.

The elector of Bavaria, who had just come to the camp, wrote to the king an account of this success in such terms as a general would address to the prince whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the same day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the meantime the grand duke, finding subsistence fail in the quarters which he occupied, retired to the southern part of the province, and left the command of his army to his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine. While these things were in agitation, the king of Prussia made himself master of Moravia, a province lying between Bohemia and Silesia; so that Maria Theresa seemed everywhere lost: her competitor had been crowned archduke of Austria at Linz: he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague; whence he went to Frankfort, and there was raised to the imperial throne, under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had put a negative upon the vote of Bohemia in choosing an emperor, while that province remained to the queen of Hungary, pretending it was not what a woman had a right to. The elector of Bavaria, now master of Prague, might have availed himself of it; but being under no necessity of so doing, suffered it to lie dormant.

Marshal Belle-Isle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the

principal electors than the ambassador of France: he had managed all the votes, and directed every negotiation: he received all the honors due to the representative of a king who had given away the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who presides at the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace: the ambassador paid that compliment to electors only, taking place of all the other princes. His full instructions were sent to the German chancery in French, though it had heretofore required those pieces to be presented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which assumes the title and denomination of the Roman Empire. Charles Albert was elected in the most tranquil and solemn manner on Jan. 4, 1742. One would have thought him covered with glory, and at the summit of his happiness; but the scene changed soon, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unfortunate princes on earth.

The fault that had been committed by not providing a sufficient number of cavalry began now to be felt. Marshal Belle-Isle lay sick at Frankfort; and could not besides, at the same time, conduct negotiations and command an army at a distance. A misunderstanding began to gain ground among the allies; the Saxons complained much of the Prussians; the latter complained of the French; and they preferred complaints in their turn.

Maria Theresa was supported principally by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England,

Holland, and Venice; by loans in Flanders; but, above all, by the desperate ardor of her troops, which she assembled from all quarters. The French army was destroyed by fatigue, sickness, and desertion: and was with difficulty recruited. The French did not find the same fortune as Gustavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with less than ten thousand men; yet in a short time found his forces increased to thirty thousand, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced.

The French army, which, on its entering Bohemia, should have amounted to forty-five thousand men, consisted, on its leaving France, of not more than thirty-two thousand, and in this number there was but eight thousand cavalry, whereas there should have been twenty thousand. Every day then weakened the French and strengthened the Austrian forces. Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother of the grand duke, was in the heart of Bohemia at the head of thirty-five thousand effective men; and everywhere favored by the inhabitants. He commenced a defensive war very successfully, keeping the enemy in a state of continual alarm, by cutting off their convoys, and harassing them perpetually on every hand with crowds of Hussars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The Pandours are Slavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Save: they wear a long garment, and in their girdles stick several pistols, a sabre, and a poignard. The Talpaches are Hungarian infantry, armed with a fusee, two pis-

tols, and a sabre. The Croats, called in France *Cravates,* are the militia of Croatia. The hussars are Hungarian cavalry mounted upon small horses, which are very light and hardy: they cut off posts that are weak, and not properly supported by cavalry, which was everywhere the case with the troops of France and Bavaria. The elector of Bavaria thought a small number of troops enough to preserve a vast extent of country, which he did not suppose the empress-queen in circumstances to retake. It is easy to condemn the operations of war when they are unfortunate; but these misfortunes are seldom foreseen: yet, for a long time, Marshal Belle-Isle had foretold them in all his letters from Frankfort.

"They have left troops," said he, "in Upper Austria, which will be inevitably cut off." He wrote thus to M. Breteuil, then secretary of state in the war department, Dec. 17, 1741: "I cannot help dwelling on this important subject: I assure you that the misfortune which I have so long foreseen, will inevitably happen: the first source of our misfortunes must arise from the mixture of nations among our soldiery, and their being scattered." The marshal, falling sick at Frankfort about the end of November, took immediate care to write to court that it was necessary to send another general to take upon him the command of the armies. On December 8, Marshal Broglie, an old officer, bred under Marshal Villars, and celebrated for many brave actions, set out for Strasburg. On his arrival in Bohemia he

found the conquerors embarrassed with their acquisitions, and the Austrians possessed of all the posts in the southern parts of Bohemia. Upper Austria was guarded by only fifteen thousand Bavarians and eight or nine thousand French. Count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna, appeared suddenly in those quarters with garrisons drawn from such towns as he left behind him, the troops recalled from Italy, and twenty thousand Hungarians. Lieutenant-general Count de Ségur was then at Linz, an open town into which the elector of Bavaria had thrown about eight thousand men. General Khevenhuller advanced with thirty thousand fighting men under command of the grand duke. Ségur's only resource was then to retire; but the elector had commanded him to defend a post which it was not possible for him to maintain. He barricaded the place, and prepared to resist the most vigorous assaults, hoping, on the other hand, that some diversion would be made by the Bavarians; but the latter were defeated and dispersed; and, instead of succoring Linz, they lost Scharding.

The grand duke now appeared in person before Linz, and summoned the French to surrender prisoners of war: on their refusal, he caused his troops to enter the place, sword in hand, and burned down a part of one of his own towns to bury the French in its ruins. M. Duchâtel, a lieutenant-general, who died lately, with the highest reputation for valor, probity, and spirit, came to treat with him on the part

of the besieged. The grand duke insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. "Well then," said Duchâtel, "since this is your resolution, begin again to burn the town, and we will begin to fire." The prince was softened, and allowed them to retire with the honors of war, on condition that they did not serve again for a year.

The Hungarians, after this first success, immediately advanced and retook Passau. They spread themselves over Bavaria on the Austrian side; while the Austrians entered it on the side of Tyrol, and laid all waste from one end to the other. A partisan named Mentzel, known only by his brutality and depredations, appeared suddenly before Munich with his hussars, and the capital of Bavaria surrendered to his summons. All these events followed each other rapidly, while the French prepared at Frankfort for the coronation of the elector of Bavaria. In short, on the very day he was elected emperor, he received the account of the loss of Linz, and was soon convinced that he was left without capital or dominion.

CHAPTER IV.

RELATION OF THE MISFORTUNES OF EMPEROR CHARLES VII. CONTINUED — THE BATTLE OF SAHAY — THE FRENCH FORSAKEN BY THE PRUSSIANS, AND AFTERWARD BY THE SAXONS — MARSHAL MAILLEBOIS'S ARMY MAKES A FRUITLESS MARCH INTO BOHEMIA —MARSHAL BELLE-ISLE PRESERVES THE ARMY AT PRAGUE.

FORTUNE now declared herself as much an enemy to the Bavarian emperor in Bohemia as in Upper Austria and Bavaria: the aspect of things was the more melancholy in three months' time, because his affairs in Bohemia looked well; and, from the superiority of his allies there was great probability of their being able to restore to him his dominions; for on the one side Count Saxe had taken Eger, and thus the two extreme boundaries of Bohemia were maintained; on the other, Prince Charles, having given battle to the king of Prussia near Czaslau, in the heart of Bohemia, into which he had penetrated with his army, which was totally defeated.

The Saxons were also in a condition to second the king, and to assist in preserving the conquests which had been made for the common cause by the French armies conjointly with them. In the midst of these apparent advantages, Marshal Belle-Isle, being recovered from his indisposition, hastened to the French army at Frankfort, commanded by Marshal Brog-

lie, and encountered the Austrians at Sahay, near Frauemberg, on the road to Prague. These two generals differed in opinion, but were reunited by their zeal for the service. They lay that night on a mattress, and on the succeeding day fought one of the most sharp and glorious battles that had been known during the whole war, if glory may be said to be annexed to small events, happily conducted, and boldly supported, as well as to more decisive actions. Six hundred carbineers and three hundred dragoons, led by the marquis de Mirepoix and the duke de Chevreuse, attacked and routed a body of two thousand five hundred cuirassiers, commanded by Prince Lobkowitz, though they were advantageously posted, and made a gallant defence. The duke de Chevreuse was wounded in three places. The duke de Broglie and all the officers gave to the soldiery a noble example, particularly M. de Malefieux, major of the carbineers, who drew them up in a manner that contributed much to the success of the day. The count de Bérenger, at the head of the brigade of Navarre, did very signal service. This was not a great battle, but rather a trial of skill between the French and the Austrian generals, in which each combatant showed prodigies of valor; and if it could not give great superiority to the French armies, it might at least have enhanced their reputation: but it was to no purpose; and they should have foreseen that,

notwithstanding all their apparent success, the pit was dug into which they were ready to fall.

The king of Prussia, dissatisfied with Marshal Broglie, wrote to him a very haughty letter after the battle of Czaslau; and added, with his own hand, this postscript: "I am quit with MY allies; for my troops have just obtained a complete victory: it is your duty to make the best use of it out of hand, otherwise you may be responsible for it to YOUR allies."

It is scarcely possible to comprehend what he means by those words: "I am quit with MY allies." Marshal Broglie, in writing home to the prime minister, observes that the king of Prussia might have expressed himself more obligingly, but that he did not understand French; he understood it well, and his meaning was clear.

This monarch remained inactive after his victory at Czaslau, and they could not conceive what his conduct meant. No advantages were reaped from the little affair at Sahay, and at length subsistence began to fail. There are instances in which the distance from a magazine, or the scarcity of one article of provisions, may occasion the loss of a kingdom. The arrival of the recruits expected from France was too late. The troops under Marshal Broglie were so much diminished that only twelve thousand men could be mustered at a review of forty-six battalions, which should have amounted to thirty thousand men.

The rest of the army was scattered; while Prince Charles of Lorraine and Prince Lobkowitz reunited their forces. To add to the misfortune, there was but little agreement between the French generals, as well as between those of the allies. Had the Prussians acted conjointly with the French and Saxons it is certain that, being possessed of Prague, Eger, and all northern Bohemia, victorious at Czaslau and Sahay, they might have remained masters of Bohemia. Marshal Belle-Isle, to whom the king of Prussia wrote daily with the most entire confidence, and rather like a friend than a king, waited upon that monarch in his camp on June 5, in order to concert with him what was to be done for the common cause. The king spoke thus to him: "I give you warning that Prince Charles is advancing toward Marshal Broglie; and that if proper advantages are not drawn from the affair at Sahay, I shall make a separate peace for myself." In a word, a treaty between him and the queen of Hungary had been for nearly a year on the point of conclusion; the negotiations had been renewed at Breslau and The Hague; the articles were at length settled, and nothing was wanting but to sign them. The only and best method of preserving an ally is to be always strong enough to do without him; but Marshal Broglie's army was so far from being in this happy situation that it daily decreased by sickness and desertion.

They were forced to abandon all their posts, one

after another; they daily lost their provisions and ammunition, of which part was pillaged by our own soldiers, and part carried off by the enemy. Prince Charles passed the Moldau in pursuit of a body of troops under M. d'Aubigné, who retreated in disorder; he followed the French to Thein, to Piseck, and from Piseck to Pilsen, and thence to Beraun: these retreats cost the French at least as many men as a battle, and besides contributed to dispirit the troops. They were perpetually harassed in their precipitate marches by the hussars, their baggage pillaged, and every Frenchman that chanced to stray from his corps was massacred without mercy. During this disorder of so many detached bodies everywhere flying before the enemy, Marshal Broglie saved his army by making a resolute stand against the army of Prince Charles, with about ten thousand men, by putting a deep river between them, stealing a march, and, at length, having collected all his forces, retiring toward Prague. This manœuvre was admirable, but did not at all restore his affairs. During the time that he was making so many efforts to prevent his being cut off by the united armies of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Prince Lobkowitz, he was abandoned by the king of Prussia. The first disgraces of the French arms in Bavaria and Bohemia gave rise to the treaty, the latter occasioned its being signed on June 11, 1742. The king of Prussia had, at a very proper opportunity, taken up arms to make an easy conquest of Silesia; and he

was now willing, at as proper a time, to lay them down, in order to keep the largest and richest part of that province as far as the river Neisse.

The queen of Hungary, who, fifteen months before, might have prevented the war, and put the imperial crown upon the head of her husband, besides being supplied with troops and money at the king of Prussia's expense, by only giving up a part of that province, now thought herself very happy in ceding to Prussia much more than he had then demanded, and got nothing in return. She also parted with the county of Glatz to him; and if she did not secure him as an ally, she was, however, for some time freed from a formidable opponent.

The emperor was abandoned by this treaty, and not the slightest mention made of France. Saxony, by one of the articles of peace, was to be comprised therein, provided that their forces separated from the French within sixteen days, reckoning from the time of signing the treaty.

The Saxon army withdrew long before the stipulated term. The French remained alone the protectors of the emperor, and were the only troops exposed to danger. His only asylum was Frankfort, where he had been crowned. In vain did Marshal Belle-Isle, though in a bad state of health, post from the Prussian camp to the court of Dresden; in vain did Marshal Broglie assemble his troops, considerably recruited: there was but little subordination in his army; they saw themselves in a strange

country, without allies or assistance; they had Prince Charles to contend with, who commanded a superior army, and was beloved by his people. The advantage of speaking the language of the country in which a war is carried on is also very great; they receive intelligence quicker and oftener. The national troops are favored always, and foreigners betrayed. There was also another inconvenience, which is alone sufficient to destroy an army, and even a state. Marshal Belle-Isle, who arrived at Prague about the end of June, from Dresden, had a commission as general in Bohemia; and Marshal Broglie, who, at Prague, had under him part of the battalions destined for Bavaria, insisted on keeping the chief command as his right, being the oldest marshal. Thus here were two generals, and the principal officers did not know which they were to obey. Cardinal Fleury continued Marshal Belle-Isle in the command. The king's service did not, however, suffer from things remaining in this dangerous and doubtful situation, which is yet more rare than this division of authority.

The French, deserted as they were, saw themselves still possessed of the most important place of all their conquests. But while Bohemia was the theatre of these revolutions, the Hungarians lived in the capital of Bavaria, of which they were masters, with all the licentiousness and cruelty of an unbridled soldiery. The town was ransomed; yet the neighboring villages were ravaged, and the peo-

ple reduced to a state of desperation. The king of France did not abandon the emperor; he maintained him in possession of Prague and Eger; the duke d'Harcourt, with fifteen thousand men, advanced to succor Bohemia; this diversion proved, for a very short while, the deliverance of Munich.

The Austrian general, Khevenhuller, having drawn together his forces, marched out of Munich in the month of April. The inhabitants, who were highly incensed against them, rose upon and slew several of them at the very instant of their quitting the place; then shut the gates, though it was almost an open town, and intrenched themselves. But in a few days afterward they were obliged to surrender for the second time, and to give up their arms. This cost several of the citizens their lives, who were slain by the Pandours; others saved themselves by sacrificing part of their private property. The Bavarian troops were always beaten; the duke d'Harcourt, with great difficulty, maintained himself on the banks of the Danube against a superior enemy. The eyes of all Europe were now turned upon Prague; the two French marshals being reinforced, had got together in the town, or under the walls, after so many disasters, twenty-eight thousand men. June 27, 1742, Prince Charles of Lorraine appeared before the place, with forty-five thousand men, besides eighteen thousand Hungarians under General Festititz, who advanced to him from Silesia, where they had been before employed, and whom

MARIA THERESA

the peace with the king of Prussia left at liberty to march wherever their sovereign's service required.

An army of sixty thousand fighting men had never before been seen laying siege to one of twenty-eight thousand; but the more numerous the garrison, and the more populous the town, the greater reason was there to expect that provisions and ammunition should fail. The queen left nothing undone which she thought might contribute to the retaking of her capital. She gave all the horses in her stable to draw the artillery and stores: her example was followed by her nobles, and they paid the wagoners for theirs in ready money. The hope of this court seemed to rise in proportion as she was exhausted.

The queen had made up an Amazonian dress, in which she proposed to enter Prague on horseback, at the head of her victorious army; nay, so sure were they through all her dominions that Prague must in a short time be taken, that an Austrian general in the Low Countries sent a servant from Brussels to Prague, on purpose that he might bring him the earliest account of the surrender of the place.

The French minister ordered Marshal Belle-Isle to offer to evacuate the place to the Austrians, provided that all the French troops in Bohemia were permitted to withdraw; and that, on the other hand, all the Austrian troops should retire out of Bavaria. This proposition seemed the preliminary of a general peace: but it was far from being agreed to by the besiegers; for at their second conference Marshal

Königseck declared to Marshal Belle-Isle that the queen absolutely hoped to make the whole French army prisoners of war. In Prague everything began to fail but courage: about the end of July meat sold there for four livres a pound; horse-flesh was eaten at the very best tables; and through scarcity of forage they were forced to kill or abandon upward of fourteen thousand horses to the enemy. The dukes of Biron, Chevreuse, Luxembourg, Boufflers, Fleury, Count Clermont de Tonnere, brigadier-general of horse; M. de Séchelles, intendant of the army, sent their plate to the mint of Prague to be coined for the subsistence of the officers and soldiers.

It was the unhappy fate of the French at Prague to find themselves far distant from their own country, among a people to whose language they were strangers, and by whom they were hated; to be exposed to every kind of necessity, without any certainty of assistance, and to have no other subject of conversation than past mistakes and present dangers. One hundred pieces of cannon, and thirty-six mortars, were fired upon their entrenchments; but the Austrians, not having one good engineer among them, their works were but indifferently conducted; the trenches were too long and too large, and the French reaped some advantages from their errors; they made daily sallies, but the most memorable was that of August 22; it was in reality a battle. Twelve thousand of the besieged attacked the besiegers, carried a battery of cannon, made two hundred

prisoners, filled up the works, took General Monty, killed fifteen hundred men, and wounded two thousand. In this engagement, Duke of Biron, Prince des Deux-Ponts, brother of the reigning duke, and Prince de Beauveau were wounded. The marquis de Tessé, first equery to the queen, and his lieutenant-colonel, were killed near each other. The marquis de Clermont, colonel of the regiment d'Auvergne, the marquis de Molac and Colonel Berry, lost their lives at the same time.

This memorable action was dearly purchased, but threw the Austrians into such astonishment that they dared not afterward carry on any of their feeble works, which scarcely deserved to be styled fortifications: they contented themselves with firing ineffectually from their batteries, but made no breach. The place might rather be said to be invested than besieged; yet it was apparent that in the end the entire loss of the French both in Prague and in Eger must be inevitable: there was but one way to relieve them, which was to send to their succor that army of about forty thousand men, which, under the command of Marshal Maillebois, had obliged the king of England to sign an apparent neutrality, and at the same time awed both Holland and Hanover: but this army was about two hundred leagues from Prague. This expedient was proposed by Marquis de Fénelon, ambassador in Holland. It had its inconveniences, but was not without its advantages. France can easily raise and subsist three hundred thousand men

for ten years, without being drained, yet now there were scarcely twenty thousand men in the heart of that kingdom; so that they were in the most perplexed situation. They had, at different intervals, sent into Germany the better part of two hundred and twelve squadrons, and one hundred and seventeen battalions, and these had been from time to time recruited; these troops, divided in Prague, Eger, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, were above half wasted away. Count Saxe, who at that time commanded in Germany, wrote to court that he had not a hundred and fifty men left to a battalion.

In order to succor and disengage these dispersed, weakened, and almost annihilated armies, it was debated to march toward the complete and flourishing army of Marshal Maillebois, composed of forty-one battalions and sixty-five squadrons, three thousand Palatines, three thousand Hessians, and three independent companies of foot and two of dragoons. It was obvious that if all these forces united had acted with unanimity, and been assisted by Prussia and Saxony, they must have succeeded. If Marshal Maillebois had advanced with his army along the banks of the Rhine to penetrate into Bohemia, he had left France unguarded; so that even the Dutch might have become formidable, and harassed the frontiers with forty thousand men. The oldest and ablest generals were consulted upon this head. Marshal de Puységur represented the difficulties and dangers of the proceeding, all which M. Noailles

admitted; but yet insisted on the necessity of it. Marshal d'Asfeldt was also of the same opinion; and the king determined upon it, however hazardous, because necessary, convinced that great undertakings cannot be executed without risking great losses. But the route and manner in which this army was to be conducted still embarrassed them extremely.

The emperor Charles would have been glad had they been employed in his electoral dominions, where he himself had commanded them. He represented in writing that, by delivering Bavaria, Prague would be set free; the siege of which the Austrians must infallibly raise as soon as this army should reach the banks of the Danube: but the French ministry could never think of putting their only resource into the hands of an emperor who had been so little able to defend himself. Cardinal Fleury wrote to dissuade him from it, in his letter dated August 19. The only reason which he alleges is couched in these terms: "Would it become an emperor to appear at the head of our armies, without an equipage suited to his dignity?" This was a strange reason, and was far from corresponding with the king of France's allowing six millions yearly to his imperial majesty. Marshal Maillebois's inclination was to march his army to the succor of Bohemia, because he there expected to find greater plenty of provisions than on the barren defiles of Bohemia. Marshal de Puységur, seeing it absolutely necessary that this army should march, thought their direction, at least, ought

to be suited to the opinion of Marshal Maillebois: but the favorite object of entering Bohemia prevailed. The intention of the cardinal was that this auxiliary army should inspire with spirit the rest of the king's troops, while in the meantime he might try every method of making peace.

He felt the pulse of George II., whom he had, the preceding year, compelled to remain neutral in a cause which the English had much at heart. He had some hopes from this negotiation; but the time for it had elapsed. The celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, who, in England, had guided the helm under George I. and George II., had been obliged, by the clamors of the people, to resign his position, because he was of a pacific disposition. His greatest enemies agree that never minister had better supported those great trading companies which are the basis of the English credit; and none knew the art of managing the parliament better; but his best friends cannot deny that he had applied the treasure of the nation to securing a constant majority in parliament, which no minister had ever done before him: he made no secret of this himself; and the author of these memoirs has heard him say: "I am master of a drug that will effectually correct all evil humors: it is sold only at my shop." These words, which convey no idea either of wit or elevated style, are expressive of his character. War had never been his taste: he always thought it would be the period of his power. "I can answer for it," said he, "that I can

govern the parliament in time of peace: I cannot undertake to do so in time of war." Cardinal Fleury had often taken advantage of his timidity, and thereby preserved the superiority in negotiating. This was laid to Walpole's charge by his enemies: incessant were the complaints still made against him for having so long delayed to declare war against Spain. To endeavor preserving peace to a trading nation is surely a strange sort of crime.

His enemies were not only the Tories, who always were directly opposite to the Whigs, but a conjunction of both, equally discontented, because they chose to be so. This faction was denominated "the country party;" a kind of division not unlike that which has almost always subsisted in Poland, and been lately set on foot in Sweden; for in all countries jealousies and complaints are raised against the ministry; and if, in absolute monarchies, they evaporate into empty murmurs, yet, in mixed governments, they become real factions. The country party complained highly that George II. had, by his treaty of neutrality, sacrificed the glory of Great Britain to the preservation of Hanover, and laid the whole blame upon Walpole, the then minister, who had no share in this necessary, unpremeditated treaty, which was entered into only to be broken. Long before this treaty they had attacked him in parliament. Mr. Sandys, then a member of the house of commons, told him openly on Feb. 23, 1741, "Get yourself ready, for I shall impeach you in three days." "I

accept the challenge," answered he, "provided we fight honorably;" and at the same time repeated this line from Horace: *"Nil conscire sibi, nulla palescere culpa?"*

On the very day fixed, his accuser moved the house of commons to petition the king to remove Sir Robert Walpole forever from his council and presence: at the same time a motion of a similar nature was made by Lord Carteret in the house of peers. The question was put, and debated in each house till midnight. Never was there a piece of more manifest injustice than this of endeavoring to bring a man to punishment before there were proofs that he had deserved it. Yet that which does not always happen was at this time the case: the justest party carried it in both houses, and Walpole as yet kept his ground. But the seven years during which the English house of commons subsisted being now at an end, and new representatives chosen, whereby the country party was considerably strengthened, the minister, who had for twenty years supported himself against so many enemies, found it time for him to retire. The king created him a peer of Great Britain, under the title of Earl of Orford; and three days afterward he resigned all his offices. His enemies still proceeded against him legally: they insisted upon his accounting for thirty millions of French livres, said to have been expended in secret services during the term of ten years; and in this sum were included one million two hundred thousand livres,

said to have been given to the political writers and other persons who had employed their pens in favor of the ministry. The king, provoked at this accusation, evaded it by adjourning the parliament; that is, suspended its sitting for some time by virtue of his royal prerogative.

That very Lord Carteret who had accused Walpole in the house of peers, was now in the highest credit: he was employed by the king to convince the people he was in reality as much inclined to war as they were: thus he favored their passions to strengthen his government.

Lord Carteret had been formerly secretary of state, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland: he was one of the most learned men in England, spoke several of the living languages fluently, but more particularly French and Spanish: he was bold and artful, active, indefatigable, and occasionally prodigal of public money, he was as much disposed, through taste and inclination, to war, as Walpole had been to peace: he did not succeed this minister in his post, which was that of high treasurer under a different denomination; but resumed his former employment of secretary of state for the northern department, and was in higher estimation than the new earl of Orford had ever been.

The cardinal made him some overtures for an accommodation, and even went so far as to propose that he should be the mediator; but Lord Carteret only answered by engaging the parliament to raise

supplies to enable the king to levy troops; to take into his pay those of Hanover; to hire forces from Denmark and Hesse, who are always ready to sell their men to either side; to augment the queen of Hungary's subsidies; to purchase the alliance of Sardinia; to conduct a conspiracy at Naples; and to send fleets into the Mediterranean and America: he also proposed to procure for the king of England in Germany the cession in full property of the bishoprics of Osnabrück and Hildesheim; and, in fine, to make his master arbitrator in both hemispheres.

While, on the one hand, the cardinal thus addressed the British court, whose tone was very imperious, he applied, on the other, to the general who besieged Prague: he wrote a letter, dated July 11, to Field-Marshal Königseck, and it was delivered to him by Marshal Belle-Isle, in which he excuses himself from having consented to the present war; and says he has been hurried out of his own measures. "Many people," such are his own words, "know how firmly I opposed the resolutions we have taken; and that I was as it were compelled to acquiesce with them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passed, not to guess at the man who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter into a league very contrary to my liking, and my principles." The queen of Hungary only answered by causing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to see the ill effects this letter must have produced. In the first place, he threw

the whole blame of the war upon the very general who was commissioned to negotiate with Count Königseck; and to render his person odious was not the way to make his negotiation successful: secondly, it plainly acknowledged a weakness in the ministry; and he must have a slender knowledge of mankind who could not foresee that advantage would be taken of this weakness; that it would inspire the allies of France with indifference, and give her enemies more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a second, in which he complains of this publication to the Austrian general; and says, "He shall not hereafter be so forward in writing to him." This second letter did him more hurt than did the first: he disavowed them both in the public papers, and this disavowal, whereby nobody was deceived, crowned all those imprudent proceedings, which less severe judges will be apt to excuse an old man, aged eighty-seven, and perplexed with ill success. At length the emperor offered proposals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly referred to secularizing the two bishoprics above mentioned in favor of Hanover. The English minister did not consider the emperor's interposition in the least necessary toward obtaining those bishoprics. His proposals were insulted by being made public. The emperor was under the necessity of disavowing his offers of a peace, as Fleury had been compelled to disown the war.

The dispute now grew warmer than ever: France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, though principals in fact, strove to hold the balance of Europe sword in hand. In the spring of 1742 the court of England marched into Flanders sixteen thousand English troops, as many Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians, which, united to about fifteen thousand Austrians, made up a formidable army. They were commanded by the earl of Stair, an officer who had been formerly bred under the great duke of Marlborough, and who in 1715 had been ambassador to France.

England endeavored, before she should strike a blow, to engage Holland to take part in the dispute; but the states-general rigidly adhered to their treaty, which obliged them only to supply the queen of Hungary with money: nothing could induce them, at this time, to furnish troops. Holland was divided into two parties; one was for preserving peace, the other breathed nothing but war. There was, however, a third, as yet but little known, who wished for a change in the government by advancing a stadtholder; but this party, though acquiring strength daily, did not dare openly to declare itself before the other two. The love of liberty still prevailed over the obligations they had to the blood of the Nassaus, and over the intrigues of the prince of Orange. These principles, this division of people's minds, that dilatoriness common to all republics when their danger is not very pressing; all these reasons

united to prevent the Dutch from joining their forces to those of the queen of Hungary and king of Great Britain.

The parties which divided the republic seemed rather to arise from difference in opinion than influence in faction. That turbulent spirit which, in circumstances not very dissimilar, had excited the people to massacre the De Witts, seemed no longer to subsist: the grandson of the pensionary De Witt, as averse to war as he was, went quietly on foot to council. They never had one tumultuous debate; but then they had no one fixed project; and when the states had taken the resolution to augment their forces at all hazards with twenty thousand men, not one of the regency as yet knew whether or not they were determined for war.

Lord Carteret arrived at The Hague to forward this measure: Lord Stair, who commanded the English army at Brussels, also set out for that place, to influence the Dutch in the same cause; the duke d'Aremberg, not less eager than these, added his vague solicitations. Lord Stair was strong enough to penetrate, without their assistance, into France: his army, including the Austrians, amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, with which his intention was to have seized upon Dunkirk; the fortifications of which were very weak on the land side, owing to the sandy nature of the soil. It is certain that France was in pain for this town; for the fortifications of its harbor, according to the loud and

incessant representations of the English at The Hague, had been restored; and they cried out for vengeance on account of this pretended infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht. Marshal de Puységur advised Cardinal Fleury to sequester the place into the hands of the Dutch, until a peace was concluded: a proposal so frank, and at the same time artful, that it should have engaged the Dutch to act as mediators, and never to have declared themselves enemies to France.

This proposal was made to them by the marquis de Fénelon; but the English party, though it had not sufficient authority to force Holland into a war, had yet weight enough to hinder them from accepting an honor whereby they must have been necessarily obliged to remain neutral. In the meantime these things could not have hindered the allied army at Brussels from entering France: but the king of England wanted to temporize, and to wait the absolute determination of Holland; which was one of the greatest mistakes that had been made during the war. I was a witness of the astonishment and grief of Lord Stair, who said the king, his master, had missed an opportunity which would never offer itself again. Nothing was then done either in Flanders or on the Rhine. The general attention was fixed upon Bohemia. Marshal Broglie and Belle-Isle were still masters of Prague, and still besieged. Marshal de Maillebois's army marched through Westphalia, Franconia, and the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate,

to their assistance. Prince Charles, on receiving the news of this march, turned the siege of Prague into a blockade, and hastened to the defence of Bohemia.

It was about this time that a partisan named Trenk, at the head of a number of Pandours, Talpaches, and Croats, seized upon Chamb, a little town on the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, which still held out for the emperor. He put all the inhabitants to the sword; and after having abandoned the place to be pillaged, and appropriated to himself three hundred thousand florins, which had been therein deposited, he reduced the town to ashes. This same bandit, meeting with a convoy of sick French, guarded by a few soldiers, massacred both soldiers and sick, without distinction. During the whole war, the Hungarian irregulars behaved themselves everywhere with the same sort of savage ferocity.

All France dreaded the same fate for both Prague and Eger, but they had great hopes from the army of Marshal Maillebois. The news of the siege of the former being raised, and turned into a blockade, gave new spirits to the court of Frankfort. The emperor enjoyed a transitory satisfaction from being presented by the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother to the reigning duke, with some standards taken from the Austrians in the different sallies made from the place, which were indeed rather so many real battles, and in which that prince had particularly signalized himself. At length this auxiliary army

arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia about the beginning of September: everything hitherto had been happily conducted: Count Saxe was to join this army with the body he commanded in Bavaria, which did not really amount to more than twenty-seven thin battalions and thirty squadrons, but these were a considerable addition to the new army. Count Saxe, who had already the character of an officer who let no opportunity that offered slip him, had just escaped from Bavaria, where Count Khevenhuller had held him, as it were, shut up; and, by a dexterous march, was advancing toward the frontiers of Bohemia on the one hand, while Broglie approached them on the other.

The duke d'Harcourt, with a detachment from Count de Saxe's troops, had already taken the little town of Plan, on the western extremity of Bohemia, and made therein four hundred prisoners of war. Count de Saxe, after having evacuated Plan, and taken another post called Elnbogen, joined the grand army. They were soon after in sight of the Austrians, and might have given them battle; but it was a hazardous step; for, had they been beaten, they had neither retreat nor certainty of subsistence. The minister had written twice in these terms to M. Maillebois: "Avoid hazarding the honor of the king's army, and come to no engagement, the success of which can be in the least doubtful."

There was not only an impossibility of coming to an action with absolute certainty of success, but also,

the enemy having plundered a magazine, the difficulty of obtaining subsistence daily increased. There was an intention of opening a road toward Prague, by the way of Caden, on the river Eger, and leaving Eger and Elnbogen behind them: were they once posted at Caden, the road to Prague seemed free, and provisions might have been easily received from Saxony. Moreover, Marshal Broglie had posted the marquis d'Armentieres with some troops at Leutmeritz. Leutmeritz is a small town, lying half way between Caden and Prague; and here the Eger falls into the Elbe. Everything depended upon the post of Caden; and at Paris this important military operation exhausted all their conjectures and remarks. Never was the conduct of generals censured with more precipitation and severity; and it has ever since been questioned whether or no the troops were ever at Caden.

I here present you with a detail of the fact, as it has been incontestably declared by the general himself. It may, perhaps, be of little consequence to posterity; at present, however, it is interesting. On October *22* Count Saxe detached some troops toward Caden, to break down the bridge upon the Eger, over which the enemy might have passed. One independent company had already entered the place, and broken down the bridge; the Austrians came up, almost in the same instant, repaired the bridge, and made themselves masters of the town. Thus was all communication cut off between the armies of

Marshal Broglie and M. Maillebois. The latter could receive no accounts from Leutmeritz; and the only road to Caden led through a defile which it seemed impossible to penetrate. Bohemia is surrounded by a chain of craggy mountains, through which there are only some narrow passes or defiles, in which a hundred men may put a whole army to a stand. They had only bread enough left to last till October 24; so that M. Maillebois was obliged to reduce the soldiers to half allowance, by giving them only a quarter of a pound of meat apiece. They attempted to pass the defile of Caden; but found it impracticable to bring up the artillery. The wagoners deserted: their places were supplied by soldiers, but their progress was not in the least quickened. Discontent, want of discipline, misunderstanding, desertion, everything conspired against their march.

A council of war was held on October 17, and all the general officers declared for retreating: Count d'Estrées, who was in Eger, sent his opinion in writing. "For my part," said he, "we must either assemble all our forces and fight, or else proceed no farther: we have no alternative." The rest advised, what had often been proposed before their march into Bohemia, to turn off toward the Danube, and thereby alarm Austria. Thus the army could hardly set foot in Bohemia; but fatigued and diminished by a long and painful march, they returned toward Bavaria. It was, however, better for that electorate to have these new troops, which, joined to those of

Count Saxe, amounted to more than fifty thousand fighting men. The count sent M. Broglie to command them.

This general passed through Saxony, with five hundred horse, November 12: he arrived at Nuremberg, and at Dengelfing in Bavaria, on the 22d, where he took upon him the command of the army. Marshal Belle-Isle remained at Prague, where he engaged the close attention of the Austrians. The auxiliary army, now of consequence, was superior in Bavaria. Munich was a second time relieved, and the emperor entered it again. That prince had still between ten and twelve thousand men. They were masters of the Danube for upward of thirty leagues; that is to say, from Ulm almost to Passau. In Bohemia they still kept Eger and Prague; and the little circle of Leutmeritz, between Prague and Saxony, was still in their hands. The affairs of the emperor might have been re-established; but Leutmeritz was soon after taken, and Marshal Belle-Isle found himself shut up in Prague, together with his whole army, now reduced to about seventeen thousand men, without money, subsistence, or hope of succor: he had nothing to hope, but from himself, and the good disposition of his officers, who none of them fell short of what he expected. In a letter, dated October 28, he says: "I cannot, on this occasion, sufficiently praise the zeal of the dukes de Chevreuse and Fleury, and the marquis de Surgeres, who sold everything they had left to remount the dragoons."

Marshal Belle-Isle, seconded by his brother, brought provisions into Prague, opened the passes, beat the enemy's parties, and kept them at least six leagues' distance all around him: he established an exact police in the town; and what was not the smallest of his labors, caused an exact discipline to be observed among his troops.

When we examine the memoirs of this siege, and see the extremities to which they were reduced, the loud and incessant complaints among the troops, the series of disappointments, their want, and the accumulated miseries whereby they were discouraged, it is astonishing how this general could draw his resources. M. de Séchelles wanted money, and yet he never let the hospitals want. In this place the most immediate assistance was necessary: above twenty soldiers died daily, one after another, during the whole month of June. These and many other losses presented themselves continually to the minds of the soldiers, terrified with their present evils, and a prospect of what were to come, which imagination never fails to heighten considerably.

They were thus cruelly situated in the month of November, when the ministry ordered Marshal Belle-Isle to attempt the evacuation of Prague, even in sight of the army that blockaded it. The general wrote that he had taken such measures as enabled him to obey any orders that might be given him, and he would undertake to hold out four months longer, in case he were commanded to do so; but if the min-

istry thought it more expedient that he should withdraw with his troops out of Prague, he would conduct them in safety to Eger, in spite of the enemy's army, and the extreme rigor of the season. The court preferred the latter proceeding, and it was accordingly carried into execution: during the blockade this general had remounted his cavalry; his dragoons were formed out of the artillery horses; he had covered wagons to carry provisions; he wanted for no manner of convenience; but the danger was extreme.

Prince Lobkowitz had distributed his army in such a manner that they surrounded the town, the inhabitants of which were so many spies on the motions of the French. In the meantime, the weather daily grew colder, and became almost intolerable. There were upward of two thousand soldiers sick in the place, and the marshal himself had been a long while in so bad a state of health that he could not mount on horseback; yet, in the midst of all these conspiring obstacles, he fixed on the night of Dec. 16 or 17, 1742, to make his retreat. In order to secure it more effectually, it was incumbent on him not only to deceive Prince Lobkowitz, but also the inhabitants of the place, and his own people; to this end he was continually sending detachments all around him to bring in forage, which were always accompanied with cannon and covered wagons; so that the surprise should be less when he chose to evacuate the place, which must be done with such

an equipage. Two days before his retreat he laid contributions payable in four months. The day of his intended departure, the gates of the town were kept shut; and having caused a report to be spread that he was to sally out and make an expedition on such a quarter, he made his retreat by another road; whereby he gained upon Prince Lobkowitz a march of twenty-four hours, keeping his people all the while in order of battle, and followed sometimes by thirty pieces of cannon, according as the enemy chanced to present themselves. He forced their quarters, repulsed their cuirassiers, and opened for himself, with a body of eleven thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred horse, a passage through the country that had been entirely unknown. The retreat was continued for ten days through ice and snow. The enemy's cavalry harassed them perpetually on their march, appearing always somewhere either in front, rear, or flank, and were continually repulsed: could they have possessed themselves of the provisions, Belle-Isle's whole army had been destroyed.

To prevent this misfortune his corps marched in five divisions, each of which had under its care its respective share of provisions and ammunition. On the third day Prince Lobkowitz appeared at the head of a body of cavalry, on the other side of a plain where they might have come to an engagement. He held a council of war, in which it was resolved not to attack an army, who, if forced to it, must

certainly fight with that sort of despair that renders courage invincible: he determined therefore to cut off the retreat of the French by breaking down the bridges on the Eger, over which they must necessarily pass.

Marshal Belle-Isle chose, however, a road which would have been, in any other season, impassable: he marched his army across some frozen morasses. The cold was his greatest enemy, for he lost by that alone above eight hundred soldiers. One of the hostages which he brought with him from Prague expired in his coach. At length he arrived at Eger, on December 26, having performed a journey of thirty-eight leagues. That very day the troops that remained behind in Prague made a glorious capitulation. The same M. de Chevert who had been the first in mounting the walls of the place, had been left to command therein with a garrison of about three thousand men, one-third of whom were sick. He took hostages from the town, shut them up in his own house, and lodged several tons of gunpowder in his cellar, fully resolved to blow himself and them together into the air in case the citizens should offer him the least violence. This intrepid conduct contributed not a little to those honorable conditions which he obtained of Prince Lobkowitz. He was allowed to march his garrison to Eger, with all the honors of war, the sick excepted, who, not being able to follow him, were obliged to submit to the hard fate of becoming prisoners of war, though their

behavior merited a much better fate. Thus the town of Prague, which had been taken by the French in half an hour, was now happily evacuated after a siege and blockade of five months. The French being now left alone, without allies, could not preserve Bohemia to the emperor; but they restored him to the possession of Bavaria.

CHAPTER V.

EUROPE DURING THE WAR — STATE OF AFFAIRS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN — COMMERCIAL INTERESTS — WHAT SHARE ITALY TOOK IN THE TROUBLES WHICH AROSE AFTER THE DEATH OF CHARLES VI. — THE SHARE TAKEN THEREIN BY HOLLAND — DEATH OF CARDINAL FLEURY.

In the space of two years, reckoning from the death of the last Austrian emperor to the end of 1742, we have seen Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate taken and retaken; Prussia and Saxony united with France, until the Treaty of Breslau, made in June the same year, and afterward becoming neutral; while the other princes of the empire remained silent. In the same year also, George II., king of England, elector of Hanover, began openly to break the neutrality to which he had been forced to accede; and his troops in Flanders, to the amount of forty-eight thousand men, though as yet in a state of inaction, were, however, in readiness to act. The Austrian army was in possession of all Bohemia, Eger

excepted. There were still fifty thousand French in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, under Marshal Broglie, against a like number of the enemy; so that it was yet doubtful whether the Bavarian emperor, assisted by France, should conquer, or whether he should preserve his patrimony, or even the imperial crown.

It is to be remarked that since the month of August, 1741, France had sent to the emperor's assistance, at different times, one hundred and fifty squadrons, without reckoning eleven independent companies, eight troops of light horse, three thousand Palatines, and three thousand Hessians; to which may be added the Bavarians themselves, who were paid by France, who likewise raised, about the year 1742, thirty thousand militia, deducted from the people of different departments, in proportion to their number. And here it is not amiss to observe that the department of Paris furnishes only fourteen hundred and ten men; while Normandy furnishes three thousand and ninety; a proof that this province is to be considered as the more populous.

France had also at the same time other resources; for besides what she paid to the Hessians and Palatines; besides six millions yearly given to the emperor; she granted subsidies to the king of Denmark to prevent that crown from furnishing troops to the king of England; she also still retained Sweden in her pay, whom she had assisted in her war against Russia; and had it not been for this war,

the court of St. Petersburg might have assisted the Austrians, as she afterward did, with thirty thousand men.

We see what efforts France was obliged to make both at home and abroad: she was obliged to arm one part of Europe, and to maintain the other. Poland was far from cordially supporting the interests of her king, the elector of Saxony; and that elector, since his peace with the queen, concerned himself no further in the quarrel of the empire. The grand seignior, standing in awe of Shah Nadir, who had usurped the throne of Persia, and conquered part of Asia, no longer disturbed the kingdom of Hungary. Such was the state of affairs in the northern and eastern parts of Europe, and in the southern and western parts, in which latter I include France and Italy.

Spain exhibited another scene, wherein England was a principal actor, as well with regard to that balance of power which she had always affected to hold, as her commerce, in which was her more real and sensible interest. We have already observed that, after the happy conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, the English, who were left in possession of Minorca, as well as of Gibraltar in Spain, had obtained privileges from the court of Madrid which had been denied to the French, her defenders. The English merchants were permitted to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes, whom they purchased in Africa to make slaves of in the new world. This

trade of one species of mankind selling those of another species, at the duty of thirty-three piastres a head, paid by way of duty to the Spanish government, was attended with considerable profit; for the English company had obtained this advantage, that in the sale of four thousand eight hundred negroes, the eight hundred were vended duty free. But the greatest advantage which was granted to the English, exclusive of all other nations, was a permission given them in the year 1716, to send a vessel annually to Porto Bello.

This vessel, which, by the first agreement, was to be only five hundred tons burden, was by convention in 1717, increased to eight hundred, which by abuse and connivance was in reality swelled to a thousand; so that it was fit to contain two millions weight of merchandise; these thousand tons were yet the smallest part of the commerce which this company carried on. The vessel was followed by a pinnace, which went to and from her continually, under pretence of supplying her with provisions. This pinnace took in constant loadings at the British colonies, which she unburdened at the ship; which being thus constantly replenished, was as good as a whole fleet. She was, besides, supplied by other vessels, who landed on the American coasts such kind of commodities as the people were in want of. This was doing great injury to the Spanish government, as well as to all the nations concerned in the com-

merce carried on between the ports of Spain and the Gulf of Mexico.

The Spanish government in return treated the English traders with severity; and severity is always carried to too great a length. The innocent were sometimes confounded with the guilty: the debts lawfully due to some people were detained, because others had made unjust gains. There were violent complaints on both sides. Many of the English carried on a piratical trade with impunity: they encountered some Spaniards on the coast of Florida, who were fishing for the treasure of the wrecked galleons, of which they had already recovered four hundred thousand piastres. Part of these people they killed, and carried off the money. The Spaniards demanded satisfaction for this and other acts of violence of the English governors in America. These buccaneers used often, when they had seized upon a Spanish ship, after having plundered it, to sink it with the crew, that no testimony of their crime might survive. At other times they were wont to dispose of the Spaniards as slaves in their colonies; and when these unhappy people solicited the English government to do them justice, those who had sold them were acquitted from punishment, because they affirmed, that, misled by their swarthy complexions, they mistook the Spaniards for negroes. The judges understood, and winked at the aggressors, in whose plunder they shared, and who were then said to have been tried by their peers.

The Spanish guarda-costas often avenged themselves of these cruel hostilities: they took several English vessels, the crews of which they treated very ill. A negotiation was carried on, both at Madrid and London, for putting an end to those quarrels in America. By the convention of Pardo, made Jan. 14, 1739, Spain having settled her account with the English South Sea Company, promised to pay thereto, in four months, ninety thousand pounds; first deducting therefrom what the company was in other respects indebted to Spain. This deduction furnished fresh matter for a broil; and the settling of the accounts of a commercial company was productive of a war which cost each side a thousand times more than what either demanded.

In 1739 the captain of a ship, named Jenkins, presented himself to the house of commons in England: he was a plain open man, and had not, as it was said, carried on any illicit commerce, but was met by a Spanish guarda-costa within a certain boundary in America, where the Spaniards would not permit the English to navigate. The Spanish commandant, having seized upon Jenkins's ship, put the crew in irons, slit the captain's nose, and cut off his ears. In this condition he appeared before the parliament, and related his story with that simplicity which is natural to his profession and character. "Gentlemen," said he, "when they had mangled me thus, they threatened me with death: it was what I expected; I recommended my soul to God, and the avenging of my

cause to my country." These words, pronounced with a natural emphasis, excited sentiments of pity and indignation in the whole assembly; and the common people wrote upon the door of the parliament house, "A free sea, or a war."

It has been already observed that the minister Walpole wanted to reconcile these differences; his enemies endeavored to augment them: never was any subject handled with more real eloquence than this was in the house of commons of England; nay, I doubt whether the studied orations formerly delivered in Athens and Rome upon occasions almost similar, excelled the speeches now spoken extempore by Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, since created earl of Bath. These discourses, which naturally arise from the English government and spirit, often amaze strangers, just as some commodities are capitally prized abroad, which in the country that produces them are but little valued: but these productions must be cautiously perused, as the spirit of party dictates the whole, and the true state of the nation is almost always veiled. The ministerial party paint the government as being in a very flourishing condition; the opposite faction represent the nation to be in a ruined state. Exaggeration triumphs in both. A member of parliament at that time wrote thus: "Where are those days in which a secretary of war declared that no power in Europe should dare

to fire a single cannon without permission being first obtained from Great Britain?"

At length the voice of the nation determined the resolution of the king and parliament. Letters of reprisal were granted to the merchants and privateers. War was declared against Spain in form about the latter end of the year 1739. The ocean now became the theatre of a war in which the privateers of each nation were authorized, by letters-patent, to attack the merchant ships both in Europe and America; thereby reciprocally ruining that commerce, for the preservation of which they were supposed to fight. They soon proceeded to greater hostilities.

In 1740 Admiral Vernon entered the Gulf of Mexico, where he attacked, took, and razed to the ground, Porto Bello, the staple of the treasures of the new world; and thus did he open a channel by which the English, sword in hand, carried on that commerce, which had heretofore been pronounced clandestine, and was the occasion of the rupture. The English looked upon this expedition as one of the greatest services that could be done to the nation. The admiral was honored with the thanks of both houses of parliament. They wrote to him in the same terms as had been addressed to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Höchstädt. South Sea stock rose after that action, notwithstanding the immense expense of the nation. The English now hoped for nothing less than the conquest of all

Spanish America: they supposed that nothing could resist the arms of Vernon; and shortly after, when that admiral went to lay siege to Cartagena, they anticipated the celebration of the taking of the place; insomuch that, at the very time in which he was forced to raise the siege, a medal was struck in London, on which were to be seen the harbor and environs of Cartagena, with this inscription: "He has taken Cartagena." The reverse exhibited Admiral Vernon and this motto: "To the avenger of his country." There have been many instances of these premature medals, whereby posterity might be deceived, if the errors were not removed by the more faithful and more exact reports of history.

Although the French navy was very weak, it was, however, sufficient to stop the progress of the English, and squadrons were sent by France to protect the vessels and coasts of Spain. It was contrary to the law of nations, should the English, as they had not broken with France, have attacked her flag; but they eluded this artifice with a new kind of policy: they twice pretended to mistake the French for Spanish ships. Six of their ships of war attacked the chevalier d'Épinay off St. Domingo, who had but four, each of which carried less metal than any of the English; but, finding themselves very roughly handled, they drew off, pretending to have found their mistake, and asking pardon. Fighting by mistake was an action that had never been known before. They behaved in the same manner

to the chevalier de Caylus in the Straits of Gibraltar: he gave them as warm a reception, though he had but three ships against five. Thus did they try each other's strength, without being declared enemies. Now the new political system began to be set on foot, of making war in the time of profound peace; of committing hostilities in one part of the world, and of manifesting mutual friendship in another; also of keeping ambassadors in an enemy's court. This sort of proceedings was in some measure consoling to the people, and carried at least marks of moderation, which gave them room to hope for public unity and concord.

This was the state of affairs between France, Spain, and England, when the death of the emperor Charles VI. involved Europe in fresh troubles. We have already seen the effects in Germany of the dispute between Austria and Bavaria. Italy was soon ravaged on account of this Austrian succession; the Milanese was reclaimed by the Spaniards; Parma and Placentia were, by right of birth, to devolve upon one of the sons of the queen of Spain, she being born princess of Parma.

King Philip V. wanted, therefore, to secure the duchy of Milan to his third son. It would have alarmed Italy too much if Parma and Placentia had been disposed of in favor of Don Carlos, who was already master of Naples and Sicily. Too much dominion in the hands of the same sovereign would have given a general uneasiness. For this reason

Milan and Parma were designed for the infant Don Philip.

The queen of Hungary, who was in possession of the Milanese, used her utmost efforts to keep it. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, also revived his claim upon that province: he feared seeing it in the hands of the house of Lorraine, engrafted on the house of Austria, who possessing, at the same time, the Milanese and Tuscany, might be strong enough to deprive him of the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738: but he was still in greater dread of seeing himself hemmed in by France and a prince of the house of Bourbon, while another prince of that family sat upon the throne of Naples and Sicily. On Jan. 1, 1742, he caused to be printed and published a manifesto, in which he stated his claims; but, in the month of February, he resolved to act conjointly with the queen of Hungary, without being upon good terms with her in the main: they only united against the present danger. This was the only advantage they proposed. The king of Sardinia reserved to himself the choice of adopting other measures whenever he should think proper: this was a treaty between two enemies, intended only to defend themselves against a third. The court of Spain sent Don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who chose to have him neither as a friend nor a neighbor. Cardinal Fleury allowed the infant and part of his army to pass through France, but refused

to furnish him with troops; he thought it was enough to have sent fleets to America.

This minister seemed to be now afraid to grant twelve thousand men to a prince of the house of Bourbon and the son-in-law of Louis XV., and yet about a year before he had marched two armies of forty thousand each into two different parts of Germany for the service and assistance of the elector of Bavaria. Sometimes we do too much, and at others are fearful of doing ever so little. The reason of his acting thus was that he flattered himself the duke of Savoy might be regained, who was politic enough to leave him room to hope for it; besides, he did not at this time choose to fall out with the English, who would have certainly declared war; for in February, 1742, the parliament of Great Britain granted forty thousand sailors to the king, at four pounds sterling for each man monthly: they also allowed him considerable subsidies, always expressly recommending to him the care of the balance of power in Europe. There was a considerable English fleet in the neighborhood of Gibraltar, and one still stronger off Brest. Cardinal Fleury, who had hitherto always maintained the ascendency over the English in negotiating, and relied much upon his superiority in the cabinet, had neglected the marine. The continental revolutions, which commenced in Germany, were of such a nature as not to leave him at liberty everywhere to brave the maritime powers.

The English openly opposed the establishment of

Don Philip in Italy, under pretence of preserving the balance of power. In 1702, indeed, they had viewed the balance of power in a different light: it was then they entered into a war for giving to the archduke Charles the crown of Spain, the new world, the Milanese, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and Flanders; while his brother Joseph was possessed of Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and many other dominions, as well as being seated on the imperial throne.

In a word, this same balance of power, whether well or ill understood, had become the favorite passion of the English: but the minister had his eye upon a much more secret interest. One of his views was to force Spain to divide with England the trade of the new world: at this price they would have assisted Don Philip to enter Italy, as they had succored Don Carlos in 1731: but the court of Spain did not choose to enrich her enemies at such vast expense; and, moreover, depended upon its power to establish Don Philip in spite of them. In the months of November and December 1741, the court of Spain transported by sea several bodies of troops to Italy, under the conduct of the duke de Montemar, famous for his victory at Bitonto, and afterward remarkable by his disgrace. They had been successively debarked in Tuscany, and in those ports called the state *Degli Presidii,* belonging to the crown of Sicily. Their route lying necessarily through Tuscany, the grand duke, husband of the queen of Hungary, gave them a free passage, hav-

ing declared himself neutral in the cause of his wife. The duke of Modena, who was married to a princess of the blood of France, also declared himself neutral. Pope Benedict XIV., through whose territories both the Spanish and Austrian armies were to pass, promised the same neutrality, and for a better reason than any other, as being the common father of both princes and people.

Fresh forces also arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa: that republic had also declared itself neutral, and permitted them to proceed. About this time the king of Naples, too, adopted the neutral system, though his father and brother were principally concerned; yet after all not one of these potentates, apparently neutral, was so in reality. Don Carlos sent two Neapolitan regiments in Spanish pay to the duke de Montemar: he was compelled to promise that he would take no part in the dispute. Neither the coasts, nor yet the city of Naples, were secure from being bombarded by the English fleet. He had not reigned long enough to make his kingdom that powerful state which it had been formerly under the princes of Normandy and those of the house of Anjou. It was now nearly three hundred years since Naples had had a sovereign residing in the capital; the country was always before governed by viceroys; and, often changing its masters, had not been able to acquire that strength which a state derives from the settled rule of a prince who resides in person in his dominions. The king had

begun with establishing regularity and commerce; but it requires time to raise a marine, and form a body of disciplined and warlike troops. This prince's remaining neutral did not prevent the duke de Montemar's army from being increased by several Neapolitan regiments, as has been before remarked. By this expedient Don Carlos trained his soldiers, and preserved to his people peace and commerce.

The duke of Modena was already the secret friend of Spain; Genoa had much the same inclination; and the pope, having acknowledged the emperor immediately after his election, did not appear entirely neutral toward the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, the queen's governor in the duchy of Milan, assembling all his forces, joined them to those which were sent him from Tyrol, in order to oppose the Spaniards. About the beginning of March, 1740, the king of Sardinia, warmly seconding the Austrians, advanced toward the territories of Parma. Charles Emanuel III., king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, appeared every way deserving of a much more extensive dominion than that which he possessed, and which it was his chief study to augment; he now exerted as much courage and activity in the cause of the house of Austria, as he had displayed against it in the war of 1733. In these two junctures he showed how valuable his alliance was, and that nothing ought to be neglected either to secure him or deprive him of power: he had excellent ministers and good generals, and was himself

both a minister and a general; an economist in his expenses, skilful in his conduct, indefatigable in hardship, and courageous in danger.

He appeared in the month of May with eighteen thousand men, on the side of Parma, while the Austrians advanced toward the Bolognese with about twelve thousand. The duke de Montemar, not nearly so strong, lost ground everywhere. The king of Sardinia penetrated to Modena, with the intention of making that duke renounce the neutrality and join him: he proposed conjointly with the Austrians, that he should give up his citadel to them; but that prince and his spouse had too much courage to be compelled to take part in an affair in which they were no way concerned: they rather chose the misfortune of losing their territories for a while, than the shame of being dependent upon those who, under the name of allies, proposed to hold them really in servitude: they quitted their principality and retired to Ferrara; while the Austrians and Piedmontese, possessing themselves of the duchy of Modena, wasted the whole country. Such was the end of their neutrality!

As to the pope, if the queen of Hungary did not oblige him to renounce the system he had adopted, she forced him, however, to furnish the means of carrying on the war even on the papal territory; for, as soon as her arms had gained the upper hand, she obtained a bull for levying the tenth penny on all ecclesiastical livings throughout her Italian domin-

ions: her troops, which pursued the duke de Montemar in the marquisate of Ancona, lived at the expense of the subjects of the holy see. Rome did not have it in her power to cause her neutrality to be respected. It was no longer the time in which the popes were able, sword in hand, to defend or increase their territories: they are more rich, but less powerful than formerly: they have neither generals nor armies: taken up with a pacific system for more than two hundred years, they receive law generally from the army that is nearest to their dominions. Cardinal Alberoni, some years since, proposed a scheme for remedying this weakness, by establishing an Italic body with the pope at their head, as we see in Germany the emperor at the head of the Germanic body: but this project was too great to defend them from the calamities to which war always subjects a neutral and defenceless state.

With respect to the neutrality of the king of Naples, this was the consequence: On August 18, they were surprised by the appearance, off the port of Naples, of an English squadron, consisting of six fifty-gun ships of war, six frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Captain, afterward admiral, Martin, who commanded this squadron, sent an officer ashore with a letter to the chief minister; the purport of which was, that his Neapolitan majesty should recall his troops from the Spanish army; or otherwise, that his capital should be immediately bombarded. Some conferences were held; the English commodore, at

length, gave him only one hour to determine. The port was but poorly furnished with artillery: they had not taken precautions necessary to secure them from insult, because they had not expected it. They now saw that the old maxim is often verified, which says: "Whoever rules at sea, will be master on land." They were obliged to sign everything the English commodore proposed, and even to observe the treaty, until they had provided for the defence of the port and the kingdom.

The English themselves were quite well convinced that the king of Naples could no more observe this neutrality which he had been obliged to embrace than the king of England had observed his in Germany. The duke de Montemar, who had entered Italy to reduce Lombardy, retired toward the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, always closely pressed by the Austrians. The king of Sardinia returned at the same time to Piedmont and his duchy of Savoy, where his presence was required by the vicissitudes of war. The infante Don Philip had vainly striven to debark some fresh troops at Genoa, which he had been hindered from doing by the English squadron; but by land he entered the duchy of Savoy, of which he became master. The syndics of Chambéry paid him homage: he forbade the inhabitants of the duchy to correspond in the least with their master, under pain of death. King Charles Emanuel passed the Alps with twenty thousand men; and the infante, who had scarcely more than two thousand, abandon-

ing his conquests, retired toward Dauphiny, to wait for reinforcements. As soon as these had reached him, the Spaniards possessed themselves a second time of Savoy. This country is almost entirely open on the side of Dauphiny; but it is poor and barren; so that the sovereign hardly draws from it a million of livres yearly. Charles Emanuel abandoned it to hasten to the defence of places more important.

It is evident from this sketch that the alarm was general, and all the provinces from the heart of Silesia to the extremity of Italy experienced different reverses of fortune. Austria was at this time at open war only with Bavaria and Spain. Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Rome were neutral. The people of the Milanese, of Mantua, of Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, long accustomed to be the prey of the conqueror, without daring to vote either for or against him, looked upon these irruptions and frequent shocks with an impotent melancholy concern. The court of Spain demanded of the states of Switzerland a passage through their territories for some troops they were going to send into Italy, and were refused. The Swiss hire their soldiers to different princes, but forbid them entering their territories; the government is pacific, and the people warriors; a neutrality of such a nature could not but be respected. To give proper weight to hers, Venice levied twenty thousand men.

All Germany seemed indifferent in the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria. Even the elector of

Cologne did not dare to take the part of his brother, who was emperor: he feared the fate of the duke of Modena. If Hanover took part in the quarrel, it was only as a country subject to England, and her soldiers were paid by that crown. The German princes themselves, although their troops were let out as mercenaries, were yet regarded as neutral. The imperial territories, in which the forces of the belligerent powers at different times appeared, were seldom pillaged. The French paid for everything in ready money; the Austrians in paper: England and Holland still kept up at least the appearance of peace with France. There was a consul from England at Naples, a minister from France at Turin, nay, even at Vienna; and those states again had their representatives at Paris. But at bottom, the courts of Vienna, London, and Turin were using their utmost endeavors to shake the French monarchy.

England was more urgent with Holland than ever to declare war, and France labored hard to prevent it. This little republic might have enjoyed the glory of being mediatrix between France and Austria; it would have been for her interest, as well as her grandeur: but the English faction, which was uppermost at The Hague, prevailed. Holland, however, missed this opportunity of playing the noblest part she ever could have done in Europe. It often happens that one man judges better in times of faction and prejudice than a whole senate, or even a nation. M. Van Hoy, ambassador from the states-general

to the court of France, incessantly remonstrated to them, that nothing could so much contribute to their interest and glory as being the mediators; that if they pursued a contrary plan, they would have nothing left but a fruitless repentance. But the prevailing faction at The Hague grew incensed at his counsel, and forbade him — behavior before unheard of! — to use any more reflections in his letters. The party that contended for a war caused his letters to be published in Holland to expose him to ridicule, because they seemed rather the exhortations of a philosopher than the letters of an ambassador; but they only published their own condemnation.

There were indeed some members of the states-general who thought and spoke like M. Van Hoy; but they engrossed very little attention. They were warmed with the single word "liberty," the remembrance of their having been overrun by Louis XIV., and the hopes of humbling his successor. One would think it scarcely probable, that in the present times some outlines of the customs and manners of Old Greece should be revived; yet it was now seen in Holland. M. William Van Haren, a young gentleman, one of the deputies of the province of Friesland to the states-general, composed some allegorical poems to animate the nation against the king of France. These pieces were full of beautiful strokes of writing: the author knew well how to enrich his tongue, and to give it a turn of harmony

which indeed it greatly wanted. His verses, though sublime and allegorical, were understood by the people, because they were natural, and the allegory clear: they were read after divine service, in the public squares, and even in the villages; and those who read them were munificently paid by the auditors, as had been formerly the case with those who pronounced Homer's pieces in public. Nothing contributed more to inflame the Dutch. It had been proposed to augment the republic's troops with twenty thousand men; to furnish the queen of Hungary with efficacious assistance; but the deputies of Amsterdam were still wavering. While they were thus undetermined, they received a letter in the name of a part of the town, called Le Jourdain, which had always been a turbulent quarter; and it was couched in these terms: "Messieurs du Jourdain, give this notice to Messieurs the deputies, that perhaps they may have their throats cut, unless they consent to the raising of twenty thousand men." This levy was agreed to, and set on foot some months after; and then the states had an army of eighty thousand men.

It did not as yet appear evident that the United Provinces were to have a stadtholder; his party, however, privately gained strength. It was easily foreseen that the same people who so loudly called out for a war, and forced their governors to augment their troops, might one day oblige them to give them a master. But the magistrates, who were most

devoted to the English faction, though determined on a war, were yet more intent on preserving their authority: they stood in more dread of a stadtholder than the arms of France. This was evident in the military promotions made in September, 1742; when, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the provinces of Groningen and Friesland, who desired that the prince of Orange should be appointed general of infantry, the states made him but a lieutenant-general, a title which the prince rejected with indignation.

In this violent situation were all the European powers in the beginning of the year 1743, when Cardinal Fleury, after having been forced, in a very old age, notwithstanding his character for peace, to involve Europe in trouble, departed this life; he left the naval and political affairs of France in such a crisis that it had caused some change in the hitherto uninterrupted happiness of his life, but it had no effect upon the tranquillity of his soul. He was at the time of his death eighty-nine years and seven months old. The cardinal may be considered as having been a happy man, if we only reflect, that from the truest enumeration, and most exact calculations, it is proved, according to the course of nature, not above one man in a hundred and forty contemporaries arrives at eighty years of age. But we must allow, that no man ever ran through a more singular or fortunate career, since it is well known that among those who arrive at that age, seldom one in

a thousand preserves his health, and has a head fit for business; and if it be remembered, that the cardinal was seventy-three when he assumed the function of prime minister, at which time of life the greater part of mankind choose to retire from public business.

If his good fortune was singular, so was his moderation. Cardinal Ximenes had the riches of a sovereign, and levied armies at his own expense, yet always continued to wear the Cordelier's habit. Cardinal d'Amboise aspired to the papal crown. Wolsey in his disgrace, deplored his condition, because upon the road he had only a hundred and eighty domestics to attend him. Everyone knows the vanity and arrogance of Cardinal Richelieu, and the immense wealth which Mazarin left behind him. Cardinal Fleury had nothing left him whereby to be distinguished, but his modesty; born to no fortune, and subsisting merely upon the allowance of one of his uncles, he expended in beneficent actions what he received from generosity. His whole income, when prime minister, was sixty thousand livres, arising from two benefices; twenty thousand, and no more, was the produce of his seat in council; and he had fifteen thousand from the post-office: half of the sum total he laid out in private offices of charity, and the other half was consigned to the maintenance of a moderate house, and a frugal table. His whole furniture was not worth two thousand crowns.

This simplicity, which contributed so much to his reputation and fortune, was no constraint upon him. Men are never apt to constrain themselves so very long. He had always lived thus entirely employed in pleasing, and advancing his fortune, by those amiable qualities which marked his character and disposition. When he was at court in the office of almoner to the dauphiness, he gained everybody's friendship: his conversation was mild and graceful, mixed with pleasing and lively anecdotes, and sometimes seasoned by a dash of raillery, which, far from being offensive, had something in it very engaging. He wrote just as he spoke. There are some notes of his still extant, written about fifteen days before his death, which prove that he preserved to the last that power of endearment. He was praised by all the ladies about court, without provoking the jealousy or envy of the men. Louis XIV. had refused him a bishopric a good while. I have heard him say, that having at length been promoted to the diocese of Frejus, when he had no longer any hope of being advanced, the king addressed him thus: "I have made you wait longer than I intended, because you had too many friends, who solicited for you; and I was resolved to have the satisfaction of your being obliged to nobody but me."

Although he had a great number of those acquaintances commonly called "friends," it was neither his rule nor his taste to lavish his friendship: he exhibited only the outward appearances of it, and

even that within a certain bound which had in it nothing either false or imposing; being master of the art of preserving the good will of all mankind, without entrusting his secrets to anyone: he resigned his bishopric as soon as he was able, after having by his economy paid off several debts with which it had been encumbered, and done a vast deal of good by his spirit of reconciliation.

These were the predominant traits of his character. The reason which he gave to his people for resigning his bishopric was, that his bad state of health prevented him from paying a proper attention to the welfare of his flock: he assigned the same reason to the duke of Orleans, in his regency, for refusing the archbishopric of Rheims, which his highness offered to him. When Marshal Villars pressed him to accept it, his answer was, it would be unbecoming in him, who had not the ability to govern the diocese of Fréjus, should he find ability to guide the archbishopric of Rheims. This bishopric of Fréjus was far from the court, in an unpleasant country; therefore it was never agreeable to him. He used to say that he was disgusted at his marriage the moment he saw his wife. He subscribed himself thus humorously enough in one of his letters to Quirini: "Fleury, by the divine wrath, bishop of Fréjus."

He vacated that bishopric about the beginning of the year 1715. The court of Rome, which is always well informed of the ecclesiastical affairs of other

kingdoms, was convinced that this voluntary and absolute renunciation of a bishopric was founded in reality on a notion which Fleury entertained of being appointed preceptor to the dauphin. Pope Clement II., who had no doubt of this, spoke of it openly; and indeed Marshal de Villeroi, after much solicitation, obtained that trust for him of Louis XIV., who named for it the bishop of Fréjus in his codicil. Nevertheless, the new preceptor explains himself on this matter, in a letter to Cardinal Quirini, thus: "I have regretted more than once the loss of the solitude of Fréjus: I was informed, on my arrival, that the king was at the point of death, and that he had done me the honor of appointing me preceptor to his great-grandson: had he been able to have heard me, I would have entreated him to have excused me from a burden, the consideration of which makes me tremble; but, after his death, they would not listen to me: I have been therefore extremely ill, and have no consolation for the loss of my liberty."

He comforted himself with insensibly forming his pupil to business, secrecy, and probity; and amidst all the revolutions of the court, during the minority, preserved the good-will of the regent, and the esteem of the public; never endeavoring to make himself of consequence, nor complaining of anyone; exposing himself to no refusal, nor engaging in any intrigue; but he applied himself secretly to the knowledge of the internal administration of the kingdom, and the policy of other nations. All France

wished to see him at the head of affairs, and this wish arose from a consideration of the circumspection of his conduct, and the sweetness of his manners. Accident at length placed him there against his will; and, thus elevated, he made it evident that men of a mild and pacific turn of mind are fittest to govern. His administration was less opposed, as well as less envied, than that of either Richelieu or Mazarin had been in their happiest days: his advancement had no influence on his manners: they were still the same. It was matter of general astonishment to see a first minister who was unexceptionably the most amiable and disinterested man of the whole court. This moderation happily corresponded with the welfare of the states: it stood in need of that peace of which he was so fond; and all the foreign ministers were persuaded, that, during his life, it would never be interrupted.

When he appeared, in 1725, at the Congress of Soissons, all the foreign ministers regarded him as their father; and many princes, besides the emperor Charles VI., often in their letters distinguished him by that title: but in 1733 they presumed too much on his character as a peaceable man. The grand chancellor of Vienna haughtily said they might proceed as they pleased against King Stanislaus of Poland; for the cardinal would bear it all tamely: but, when forced into a war, he conducted it with prudence and success, and brought it to a happy conclusion. The treaty was not indeed satisfactory

either to Spain or Savoy; but France got Lorraine by it; and surely there is no need for hesitation, when we are to choose whether we shall serve our allies or our country.

Without having any mighty views, he did some great things, by letting them work their own events. His tranquil disposition made him fear, and even undervalue, men of penetrating, active capacities; for such, he pretended, were never at rest. But as this turn of mind is always accompanied by strong talents, he kept those who were possessed of it at too great a distance. His distrust of mankind was much greater than his desire of knowing them: his age and character inclined him to believe that there was no sort of genius in France, in any branch whatever; and even if there were, he thought he might do without those who possessed it, believing it a matter of great indifference what kind of people he employed. He endeavored, as much as in him lay, to introduce into the public administration that economy which reigned in his own house. By an adherence to this maxim, he neglected to keep on foot a strong naval armament: he never imagined that the state might one day stand in need of it to oppose the English, whom he had long amused with negotiations; but negotiations may vary and fail of their influence, when a good fleet will not.

The chief principle of his administration was to preserve regularity in the finances of the kingdom, and to give her time to recover herself; "like a

robust body, which, having felt some shock, stands in need only of a certain regimen to restore it." This was the answer he made when a grand project was laid before him, which was an innovation of the finances; and indeed the state of commerce, left almost to itself, under his administration, was very flourishing during the peace; but not being supported by maritime forces equal to those of England, it drooped considerably while the war of 1741 lasted.

His administration was not remarkable for any new establishment in the kingdom, any public monument, nor for even one of those magnificent undertakings or institutions which impose on the public, and strike the eyes of strangers; but it will be always distinguished by his moderation, simplicity, uniformity, and prudence.

At length the most peaceable of ministers was dragged into the most violent quarrel; and he who was the best husband of the public treasures of France, was at last obliged to lavish them on a war, which, while he lived, proved unfortunate. The king was present at his last moments; he wept over him; the dauphin was brought into the chamber, and as they kept him at some distance from the bed of the dying man, the cardinal desired they would permit him to be brought nearer: "It is proper," says he, "that he should be accustomed to such sights as this is." At length he expired in his ninetieth year, undaunted and resigned.

CHAPTER VI.

UNHAPPY SITUATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES VII. —LOSS OF THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN — THE ARMY OF FRANCE, SENT TO ASSIST THE EMPEROR IN BAVARIA, ABANDONS HIS CAUSE.

No sooner were the eyes of Cardinal Fleury closed than the king took the reins of government into his own hands: there was no part, not even the minutest, of the administration, of which he was not master. He was firmly resolved to accept of an honorable peace, or to prosecute with vigor a necessary war; and to adhere inviolably to his word.

He made no change in the measures already taken; the same generals commanded.

It is pretended by some, that the same mistakes were committed in 1743, which had occasioned the loss of Bohemia and Bavaria in the preceding year; that the Bavarian and French forces being divided into too many separate bodies, mouldered away by degrees. The mortality which got footing among the French troops in Bavaria was the beginning of their misfortunes. It often happens that more soldiers perish through inaction than fatigue, and great care should be taken to hinder any sickness that chances to find its way into a camp, from spreading. The French soldiers spent the latter part of 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crowded together around German stoves, which alone destroyed them in great

numbers; but that which was their greatest detriment was a misunderstanding between Marshal Broglie and Count Seckendorff, who then commanded the Bavarians. The latter, who acted under Prince Charles, would have had the former weaken himself to send him reinforcements, but the marshal refused them as often as they were asked, having enough to do in opposing Prince Lobkowitz. The emperor, who was then in Munich, could not reconcile them. Broglie was said in the public papers to have forty thousand men, but he had not more than twenty thousand.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, with his united forces, obtained at this time a complete victory over the Bavarians, in the neighborhood of the river Inn, not far from Branaw. He cut off eight thousand men, and took prisoners General Minuzzi, and three other general officers. The remains of the defeated army retired to Branaw, and all Bavaria was soon opened to the incursions of the Austrians. Maria Theresa received this news at Prague the very day on which she was crowned; a ceremony with which her rival had been shortly before honored in the same place. There was nothing now to oppose the progress of Prince Charles: he took Dingelfing, Deckendorff, and Landau, upon the Isar; and made a number of prisoners everywhere.

On the other side, Prince Lobkowitz possessed himself of the Upper Palatinate, and Marshal Broglie retired toward Ingolstadt. The emperor once

more fled from his capital, and sheltered himself in Augsburg, an imperial town; but he did not remain there long. As he quitted it, he had the mortification of seeing Colonel Mentzel enter at the head of his pandours; and these savages had the brutality to insult him in the public streets: he retired to Frankfort. This rapid course of events occurred in May and June.

The emperor's misfortunes daily increasing, he was reduced to the necessity of supplicating the queen of Hungary, whom he had been once so near dethroning; he offered to renounce all his claims to the inheritance of the house of Austria. The hereditary prince of Hesse undertook the management of this negotiation, and waited on the king of England, then at Hanover, with the emperor's propositions. King George's answer was that he would consult his parliament. Even this negotiation of the prince of Hesse served only to convince the emperor more clearly that his enemies meditated his expulsion from the imperial throne. The resource which he expected by addressing the queen of Hungary being denied to him, his next step was to declare his intention of remaining neutral, though in his own cause; and he therefore requested of her to let the shattered remains of his army quarter in Suabia, and to be regarded as the troops of the empire. He at the same time offered to send Marshal Broglie's army back to France. The queen answered that "she was not at war with the head of the empire, and since,

according to the directions of the Golden Bull, which had been violated by his election, she had never acknowledged him as such, she should cause his troops to be attacked wherever they were found; yet as to himself, she would not oppose his taking refuge in any part of the imperial territories, Bavaria excepted."

At the same time Lord Stair directed his march toward Frankfort with an army of upward of fifty thousand men, consisting of English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. The king of England arrived at the army with his second son, the duke of Cumberland, having on his way passed by Frankfort, the asylum of the emperor, whom he still acknowledged as his sovereign in the empire, and yet against whom he waged war in hope of dethroning him.

The Dutch at length consented to join the allied army with twenty thousand men, believing that now they could take such a step without any hazard; and that, without declaring war against France, they might help to crush her. They sent six thousand men into Flanders to replace the Austrian garrisons, and prepared to send fourteen thousand men into Germany; but they proceeded in the true spirit of the republic very slowly: they either believed, or at least pretended to believe, at The Hague, Vienna, and London, that France was now drained both of men and money. One of the principal members of the states of Holland affirmed that France could not raise more than one hundred thousand men, and that

her whole current specie did not exceed two hundred millions of livres. This was abusing the people strangely; but it is necessary often to deceive them, to keep them in proper spirits.

The king of France, in the meantime, sent Marshal de Noailles with sixty-six battalions, and one hundred and thirty-eight squadrons, to attack the English wherever he could find them; and he resolved to send assistance to Don Philip in Italy, in case the court of Sardinia should refuse to come to an agreement. He maintained, besides, upon the Danube, a complete army of sixty-six squadrons and one hundred and fifteen battalions; and this force was strong enough to succor Eger on one side, and Bavaria on the other. Although but an auxiliary, he appeared everywhere as a principal; and the emperor, having retreated from Augsburg to Frankfort, expected the decision of his fate from the fortune of his allies or of his enemies.

The quarrels of this prince, and other disputes to which it gave rise, now employed not less than ten armies at once; five in Germany, and as many in Italy. There was, first, M. Broglie's army in Germany, which defended Bavaria: it was made up, in the main, of all those regiments which had taken the route of Bohemia, and of half of M. Belle-Isle's troops, which, joined to the Bavarians, made a very formidable body: the second was that of Prince Charles, which pressed hard upon Broglie, and ravaged Bavaria: the third was that of M. de Noailles

upon the Rhine, augmented with troops and recruits from M. Belle-Isle. To oppose Noailles, the Hanoverians, Austrians, and English were assembled to the amount of fifty thousand men, under the command of King George II. This was the fourth army. The fifth was fourteen thousand Dutch, advancing slowly, on the banks of the Main, to join the last; but they came too late.

The five armies in Italy were, first, that of the Infante, Don Philip, which had subdued Savoy: secondly, that of the king of Sardinia, part of which guarded the Alps, and part was joined with the Austrians; which latter may be reckoned a third army, as they spread themselves from the Milanese to the neighborhood of Bologna: these were opposed by Count de Gages, a Fleming by birth, whose merit had raised him to the command of the Spanish army, in the place of the duke de Montemar: the fifth was that of Naples, tied up from acting by a treaty just then expiring. To these ten armies may be added an eleventh, that of Venice, kept on foot purely to secure that republic from the insults of the others.

These vast appearances kept all Europe in suspense. It was a game played from one end to the other of this quarter of the globe by all her princes; in the course of which they hazarded nearly upon equal terms the blood and treasure of their subjects, and held fortune long in the balance by a variety of great achievements, vast mistakes, and consider-

able losses. Very little land is to be gained in Italy, even with great difficulty; for, on the side of Piedmont, a single rock may cost a whole army; and about Lombardy the country is entirely intersected with rivers and canals.

Count de Gages had passed the Panaro, and attacked Count Traun: they fought a battle at Campo Santo in the month of February, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Madrid and Vienna: it cost the lives of many brave soldiers on both sides, but gave superiority to neither: in Germany they expected more decisive actions.

Marshal de Noailles, who commanded against the king of England, had borne arms ever since he was fifteen years of age: he had been at the head of the army in Catalonia, and, besides, passed through all the offices of civil government: he had directed the finances in the beginning of the regency: he had been general of an army, and minister of state; and in all his employments was remarkable for the cultivation of letters; a conduct formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but rarely to be found in modern times in Europe. This general had, by a superior manœuvre, made himself master of the country: he flanked the army of the king of England, and kept the Main between them; at the same time, by securing all the avenues to their camp, both above and below, he cut off all their subsistence.

The king of England took post at Aschaffenburg,

a town on the Main, belonging to the elector of Mentz: he took this step against the opinion of the earl of Stair, and soon repented he had done so; for he now saw his army blocked up and starved by M. de Noailles: the soldiers were reduced to half their daily allowance, and the king saw himself under a necessity of retreating, to look for provisions at Hanau, on the road to Frankfort; but in this case he found he must be exposed to the fire of the battery which the enemy had raised upon the Main: he was therefore obliged to make a precipitate retreat with an army weakened by desertion, and whose rear was in danger of being cut off by the French; for M. de Noailles had taken the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aschaffenburg, on the road to Hanau; and this, to complete their error, the allies had not prevented. June 26, the king of England caused his army to decamp at midnight without beat of drum, and ventured upon a most precipitate and dangerous march, which indeed he could by no means avoid.

Count de Noailles, who encamped upon the side of that river, was the first who perceived this motion, of which he instantly apprised his father: the marshal rose, and saw the English marching, as it were, to their destruction in a narrow road, with a mountain on one side, and a river on the other: he immediately caused thirty squadrons, consisting of the king's household, of the dragoons, and hussars, to

advance toward the village of Dettingen, before which the English would be compelled to pass. Four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, were marched over two bridges, with orders to remain posted in the village of Dettingen, on one side of a hollow way, where they could not be perceived by the English, of all whose motions the marshal had a clear view. M. de Vallière, a lieutenant-general, who had made the artillery as serviceable as could be possible, held the enemy in a defile, between two batteries, which played upon them from the opposite bank. They were to pass through a hollow way, which lies between Dettingen and a small rivulet. The French were not to fall on them but at a certain advantage, as the very situation of the ground was a snare from which they could not escape. The king of England was in danger of being taken. In short, it was now one of those critical moments that might have put an end to the war.

The marshal recommended the duke de Grammont, his nephew, a lieutenant-general, and colonel of the guards, to wait in that position till the enemy should fall into his hands, which was unavoidable. In the meantime, he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance some more cavalry, and more clearly to examine the posture of the enemy. Most of the officers say he had better have staid at the head of his army, to enforce obedience; but, had the day been successful, this error would not have

been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he sent five brigades to secure the post of Aschaffenburg; so that the English were surrounded on all sides.

All these measures were disconcerted by a moment's impatience. The duke de Grammont, imagining that the first column of the enemy had already passed, and that he had only to fall upon their rear, which could not withstand him, caused his troops to advance from the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuse represented to him the danger of this unseasonable courage; the count de Noailles entreated that he would only wait a moment for the return of his father; the duke de Grammont, whose motions were already perceived by the English, thought he should not retire; therefore, quitting the very advantageous post, which he should by all means have held, he advanced with a regiment of guards, and Noailles' infantry, into a small field, called the Cockpit. The English, who were filing off in order of battle, soon formed: their whole army consisted of fifty thousand men, and they were opposed by thirty squadrons and five brigades of infantry. Thus the French themselves fell into the very snare they had laid for the enemy, whom they attacked in disorder, and with unequal force. The cannon which M. de Vallière had planted upon the Main raked the enemy's flank, and that of the Hanoverians in particular; but they had batteries on the other hand which took the French army in front. The advantage of cannon, which is very great, was

soon overbalanced; the artillery on the banks of the Main being rendered useless, as in the confusion it must have annoyed the French themselves, in case of its being properly served. Marshal de Noailles returned the moment the fault had been committed, and all he could do was to endeavor to repair it by the courage of his troops. The king's household and the carbineers, at the first onset broke through two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry; but they formed again instantly, and the French were surrounded. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a small body of infantry: twenty-one of these were killed on the spot, as many more wounded dangerously, and the regiment of guards was entirely routed.

The duke de Chartres, the prince de Clermont, the count d'Eu, and the duke de Penthièvre, though so very young, exerted their utmost endeavors to put a stop to the disorder. The count de Noailles had two horses killed under him, and his brother, the duke d'Ayen, was thrown from the saddle.

The marquis de Puységur, son of the marshal of that name, harangued the soldiers of his regiment to encourage them; followed and rallied, as much as in his power, those that fled; nay, some of them, who would not stand, but cried out for each man to save himself, he killed with his own hand. The princes and dukes de Biron, Luxembourg, Boufflers, Chevreuse, and Peguiny advanced at the head of the brigades they met with, and, leading them on, pene-

trated into the enemy's lines. On the other hand, nothing could abate the courage of the king's household troops and the carbineers. Here one might see a company of guards and two hundred musketeers; there a few troops of cavalry advancing with some light horse, with others following the carbineers, or horse-grenadiers, running upon the English, sword in hand, with more bravery than discipline; nay, so little was discipline observed among them that about fifty musketeers heroically forced their way through a regiment of horse, called the Scotch Greys; a regiment highly esteemed by the English, made up of picked men, choicely mounted. We may well imagine what must be the fate of fifty young fellows poorly mounted, against a body by whom they were so considerably outnumbered. They were almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The son of the marquis de Fénelon was taken prisoner in the last rank of the regiment of Scotch Greys; twenty-seven officers of the king's household troops perished in this fight, and sixty-six were dangerously wounded: among the latter were Count d'Eu, Count d'Harcourt, Count de Beavron, and Duke de Boufflers; Count de la Mothe-Houdancourt, gentleman-usher to the queen, had his horse killed under him; and, after being trampled almost to death by the cavalry, was carried off the field almost dead; the arm of the marquis de Gontaud was broken; the duke de Rochechouart, first lord of the bedchamber, having been twice wounded,

and continuing still to fight, was at length killed on the spot; as were also the marquises de Sabran, Fleury, the count d'Estrades, and the count de Rostiang. The death of a count de Boufflers, of the branch of Ramiencourt, should not be overlooked among the singularities of this unfortunate day: he was only ten years and a half old; his leg being broken by a cannon ball, he sustained the stroke, the amputation of his leg, and even met death itself with amazing intrepidity. So much youth, tempered with such valor, melted into tears all who were witness of his misfortune!

Nor was the loss among the English officers much less considerable. The king of England fought both on foot and on horseback, both at the head of the cavalry and infantry. The duke of Cumberland was wounded by his side, and the duke d'Aremberg received a musket-ball in his breast: the English lost several general officers. The unequal battle lasted three hours. Courage alone was opposed to valor, number, and discipline. At length Marshal de Noailles ordered a retreat; nor was it done without some confusion. The king of England dined upon the field of battle, and then retired, without giving himself time to carry off the wounded, of whom he left about six hundred behind him, who were recommended by Lord Stair to M. de Noailles' generosity. The French treated them like their countrymen: they behaved to each other with civility and respect; while, on the other hand, during this whole war, the

Hungarians, less civilized indeed, showed nothing but a spirit of rapine and barbarity.

The two generals wrote letters to each other, that plainly show to what height politeness and humanity may be carried amidst all the horrors of a war. There are these words in a letter written by Lord Stair to Marshal de Noailles from Hanau, and dated June 30: "I have sent back all the French prisoners of whom I had any knowledge; and I have given orders for the release of all such as may have fallen into the hands of the Hanoverians. You will, I hope, permit me to thank you for the very generous behavior you have shown, which is, indeed, entirely conformable to the high opinion I always professed to entertain for monsieur the duke de Noailles. I am, sir, particularly obliged to you for the care you have so benevolently taken of our wounded."

Nor was this greatness of soul peculiar to the earl of Stair and the duke de Noailles. There was an act of generosity of the duke of Cumberland, that above all others ought to be handed down to posterity. A musketeer, named Girardeau, being dangerously wounded, was brought near his highness' tent; surgeons were much wanting; those they had were taken up elsewhere: they were now going to dress the duke's leg, which had been wounded in the calf by a musket-ball: "Begin," said he nobly, "with the wound of that French officer; he is more dangerously hurt than I am, and stands in need of more assistance; I shall as yet want

none." The loss of both armies was nearly the same: there were two thousand two hundred and thirty-one men of the allies killed and wounded. This computation was taken from the account of the English, who seldom diminish their own loss, and never augment that of the enemy.

This battle was not unlike that of Czaslau in Bohemia, or that of Campo Santo in Italy. Great exploits were performed, much blood spilled, and neither side reaped any advantage. The loss of the French was considerable in blasting, by a precipitate and disorderly warmth, the fruits that might have been otherwise gathered from the finest disposition imaginable: the battles of Crécy and Poitiers had been lost by conduct of a similar nature. The king of England, who here acquired great honor, reaped no other benefit from the victory, than that of hastily retiring from the field of battle to seek subsistence at Hanau. The author of this history, meeting with Lord Stair some weeks after the battle, took the liberty to ask him his opinion of it: "It is my opinion," said that general, "that you have committed one fault, and we two: yours was passing the hollow way, not having patience to wait: our two were, exposing ourselves first to the danger of being all destroyed; and secondly, not having pursued our victory, by making a proper use of it."

Never had man greater reason to complain than M. de Noailles, who saw himself by one precipitate movement cut off from all the glories of a battle that

might have finished the war: yet he did not complain; he recriminated upon nobody; his regard for his nephew outdid the care of his own justification. He satisfied himself with barely representing to the king, his master, in a letter as wise and eloquent as it was instructive, the great necessity there was for re-establishing a proper discipline.

Many French and English officers went, after this action, to Frankfort, a town that always remained neutral, where the emperor had then retired, who saw one after another Lord Stair and Marshal de Noailles, without manifesting to them any other sentiments than those of patience in his days of evil fortune.

Marshal Broglie's precipitate retreat from the frontiers of Bavaria, which was made about the same time, was attended with consequences still more dreadful to the emperor than those of the battle of Dettingen. Marshal Broglie, who had long been dissatisfied with Marshal Seckendorff, the Bavarian general, had always declared both by letter and word of mouth, even before the campaign, that he could not keep Bavaria. He departed from there about the end of June, at nearly the same time that the emperor, believing himself no longer safe at Augsburg, took shelter at Frankfort, where he arrived June 27, at night, being the very day on which the battle was fought.

Marshal de Noailles found the emperor infinitely chagrined on account of Marshal Broglie's retreat;

and, to augment his misfortunes, he was without subsistence for himself and his family, in an imperial town, where nobody would advance him anything, though the head of the empire. Marshal de Noailles gave him forty thousand crowns on a letter of credit, being certain that the king would not disapprove such an action.

Marshal Broglie had, on his retreating, left the emperor still possessed of Straubing, Ingolstadt on the Danube, and Eger on the Eger, upon the confines of the Upper Palatinate, and they were all blockaded. There were, moreover, some Bavarian troops still in Branaw, which place the Austrians had long neglected to besiege in form; but they being masters of all the country round, it soon capitulated. Straubing, in which were twelve hundred French, immediately followed its example. These twelve hundred men were conducted to the main body of the army, which was then quitting Bavaria, and directing its march toward the Neckar. When at length they arrived there, their number was dwindled away at least twenty-five thousand, more of whom were lost by desertion and sickness than by the sword of the enemy.

The putting of the emperor Charles VII. in possession of Vienna or Prague was now no longer meditated. They were obliged to turn their views to the defence of the French frontiers, threatened by two victorious armies, that of Prince Charles and the king of England. France had, in three cam-

paigns, sent to the emperor's assistance in Bavaria and Bohemia, upward of a hundred and twenty-five thousand fighting men; out of all which Marshal Broglie brought back about thirty thousand. The emperor, plunged in the deepest despair, demanded of the king that Marshal Broglie should be sent into exile: his majesty thought himself under the necessity of giving his griefs that satisfaction; of giving that weak and ineffectual consolation to his misfortunes.

One would be apt to think that there must have been some radical defect in the conduct of this grand enterprise, in which such repeated efforts had proved futile and abortive. Perhaps the failure arose from the fact that the Bavarian emperor had neither strong towns, nor good troops in his dominions; his authority over the French army was foreign and confined; and his bad state of health rendered him incapable of pushing the war vigorously against an enemy which was daily acquiring power; all these points considered, they were certainly much to his disadvantage. A prince who attempts to set on foot such vast enterprises should be able to act upon his own foundation; for never did any prince make a very important conquest solely by the help of another person.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES VII. UNDERGOES FRESH DISGRACES — A NEW TREATY AMONG HIS ENEMIES — LOUIS XV. SUPPORTS, AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME, THE EMPEROR, THE INFANTE, DON PHILIP OF SPAIN, AND PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, WHO ATTEMPTS TO ASCEND THE THRONE OF HIS ANCESTORS IN ENGLAND — THE BATTLE OF TOULON.

THE emperor remained at Frankfort, to all appearances without either allies or enemies, nay, indeed without subjects. The queen of Hungary had caused all the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate to take an oath of allegiance to her, against which exacted oath the Bavarian emperor in Frankfort protested. A printer in the town of Stadamhof was condemned to be hanged in the market-place for having printed this protest made by his sovereign. Nor did they stop at these insults; for shortly after the council of Austria presented to the imperial diet, even in the town of Frankfort, memorials, wherein the election of Charles VII. was treated as null, and absolutely void. The new elector of Mentz, high chancellor of the empire, to which dignity he had been advanced against the emperor's will, registered these in the Protocol of the empire. Charles could only complain, which he did by written remonstrances, while, to finish his disgrace, the king of England, as elector of Hanover,

wrote him that the queen of Hungary and the elector of Mentz were in the right. In fine, they talked of forcing him to abdicate the imperial throne, and to resign it in favor of the duke of Tuscany.

In the meantime, the emperor having declared himself neutral, the allies were stripping him of his dominions; so that the king of France, who had on his account engaged in the war, had more reason than ever to proclaim that he would no longer meddle with the affairs of the empire; and this was pronounced as his resolution solemnly by his minister at Ratisbon, July 6. Such a disposition might, at any other time, have produced a separate peace; but England and Austria wanted to improve their advantage. These powers aimed at compelling the emperor to request that his enemy, the grand duke of Tuscany, should be advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans; and they also flattered themselves with hopes of being able to penetrate into Alsace and Lorraine. Thus do we see an offensive war begun at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defensive one on the banks of the Rhine.

On August 4, Prince Charles made a lodgment upon an island in that river near old Breisach: on the other side, some Hungarian parties had advanced beyond the Sarre, and committed some outrages on the frontiers of Lorraine. The same Mentzel who had been the first that took Munich, had the insolence to issue a declaration or manifesto, dated August 20, and addressed to the inhabitants of Alsace, Bur-

gundy, Franche-Comté, and the three bishoprics, inviting them to return, as he called it, to the obedience to the house of Austria: he also threatened to hang up all such of them as should take up arms against him, but that he should first compel them, with their own hands, to cut off their noses and ears. Such brutal ferocity produced only contempt: the frontiers were well guarded, and a detachment from Prince Charles's army having passed the Rhine, were cut in pieces, August 4, by Count de Bérenger.

About the end of July the army under Marshal de Noailles encamped in the neighborhood of Spires. Count Maurice of Saxony was in Upper Alsace, at the head of a corps drawn from the remains of Broglie's army, and some troops drafted from the frontier towns. The duke d'Harcourt commanded on the Moselle. The marquis de Montal defended Lorraine. Nor was it sufficient to guard the frontiers only; an open war with England was foreseen, and also with the king of Sardinia, who had not as yet indeed concluded a definitive treaty with the court of Vienna, but was not therefore the less closely attached to its interest.

The king of France, now deserted by Prussia, was in much the same situation as his great-grandfather had been formerly, united with Spain, against the forces of a new house of Austria, England, Holland, and Savoy. He therefore caused several ships of war to be built and fitted out forthwith at Brest;

he augmented his land forces, and reinforced Don Philip with twelve thousand men: how small an assistance when compared to the numbers he had lavished in the service of the Bavarian emperor! but in effect more useful, because they seconded the enterprises of a young prince who depended upon the power of Spain to secure him an establishment. The king, not content with succoring his allies, and securing his frontiers, resolved also in person to head his army in Alsace; and to that end had caused his field equipage to be got in readiness. He acquainted Marshal de Noailles with his design, who answered him in these words: "Your majesty's affairs are neither so prosperous nor so declining as to require your taking such a step at present." He advanced other reasons, and the king admitted them, being determined to make the next campaign afterward.

Out of the various conquests the French arms had made for the emperor, there now remained to him only Eger in Bohemia, and Ingolstadt in Bavaria, on the banks of the Danube.

The extremities to which the French in Eger were reduced by far exceeded what they had so cruelly suffered in Prague. For eight months they had scarcely tasted any bread, and if any of the soldiers ventured but ever so little into the country to gather pulse they were killed by the pandours. They had neither provisions, money, nor hope of being assisted. The marquis de Herouville, who commanded in the town with six battalions, caused some temporary

money to be coined, as had been formerly done at the siege of Pavia in the reign of Francis I. This of Eger was a bit of pewter, valued at half a sou. It stood, indeed, in the place of silver, but could not remedy the want of provisions. The marquis Désaleurs sent them a convoy, but it was taken by the besiegers. The garrison was at length obliged to surrender as prisoners of war: the officers and soldiers were dispersed through Bohemia and Austria, where they found many of their countrymen. There had been more than nine thousand French taken in the course of three years, who found themselves very rigorously treated; the spirit of revenge being united to the severity of war, and sharpened by national animosity.

The defenders of Ingolstadt were more fortunate. M. de Grandeville, who commanded a garrison of about three thousand men, obtained not only liberty to retreat in safety, but even compelled General Bernklau, who besieged him, to grant a free passage to the French who were scattered in different towns in Bavaria under his command. This is the first instance of a garrison's capitulating for other troops besides themselves. In the meantime neither the king of England nor Prince Charles could make any impression on the Rhine against the French; and the remainder of the campaign justified what Marshal de Noailles had said to the king, that his affairs were neither flourishing nor desperate. All the belligerent powers were by turns agitated by fear and

hope; each had its losses and misfortunes to repair. Naples and Sicily were afflicted with the scourge of pestilence, and prepared for that of war; not without standing at the same time in fear of some conspiracies in favor of the house of Austria.

The king of Naples, having augmented his army to twenty-six thousand men, employed twelve thousand of them in securing the frontiers of Calabria against the progress of the pestilence, which was done by forming a chain of vast extent: the rest of his army remained on the borders of Abruzzo, waiting a favorable opportunity to act in conjunction with the Spanish army, then commanded by the duke of Modena and Count de Gages. The city of Naples, now put into a proper state of defence, no longer feared the insults or orders of the English captains of men of war. Don Philip, in Savoy, waited either to come to an agreement with the king of Sardinia, or to subdue him with the assistance of France. The king of Sardinia, after having long cautiously weighed the danger and advantage, imagined it now more to his interest than ever to join with Austria and England against France. Although he had assisted the cause of the queen of Hungary for more than a year, he had not as yet become her ally; he at length declared himself such, however, in a formal and efficacious manner, at Worms, on Sept. 13, 1743; a treaty of alliance which was founded entirely on the bad success of the French arms in Germany.

This monarch gained possession of the Tortonese,

the Valais, part of the Novarese, and the territorial superiority of the fiefs of Langres, by taking arms against the queen of Hungary's father; and by declaring on tl · side of the daughter he acquired Vigevan, with the remainder of the Novarese, Parma, and Placentia. The English, who had heretofore allowed him a subsidy, gave him by this treaty two hundred thousand pistoles a year, which is upward of four hundred thousands of livres: he was then at the head of thirty-six thousand men, and the English fleet under Admiral Matthews was stationed on the coast, and always at hand to second his undertakings; but he missed the fruits he might have gathered from this advantage, and verified the old maxim: "A half is sometimes better than a whole."

By this treaty the queen of Hungary ceded to him the marquisate of Finale, which belonged to neither of them: it was the property of the Genoese, who had purchased it of the late emperor for one million two hundred thousand crowns, for which no care was taken to reimburse them; for, though the king of Sardinia offered them that sum, it was only on condition that they should rebuild the castle which they had demolished, whereby they would have been at a much more considerable expense. This liberal disposal of other people's property gained France one ally more. Genoa had long been secretly attached to her service, and she now linked herself to it more closely than ever. The harbor of Genoa

might be of great utility, and the English fleet could not block it up always. Thus the king of Sardinia reduced the Genoese to the necessity of becoming his declared enemies, and opened the way to a dangerous diversion against himself; for Don Philip, having now a second time made himself master of Savoy, on Sept. 18, 1742, proposed to pass the Alps; and that the Spanish and Neapolitan armies should join in the Bolognese, or even in Lombardy.

The chance of war was therefore to decide whether the two brothers, Don Carlos, king of Naples, and the Infante, Don Philip, would penetrate into the midst of Italy; or whether, on the other hand, the king of Sardinia should, on one side, guard the passage of the Alps, while, on another, the queen of Hungary should seize upon the kingdom of Naples, although a manifest violation of the neutrality subsisting between her and Don Carlos.

In the meantime England and Austria reckoned that, in the approaching spring, they should be able to attack France in Alsace and Flanders; and the war was now about to be renewed on all sides with greater violence, without there being any open rupture, except that between England and Spain on account of the commerce in America; a rupture which seemed to have no relation to the interests which divided Europe: but yet it influenced them in a most essential manner.

The emperor Charles VII., stripped of everything, had now no seeming resource left; yet the king of

France prepared really to assist him; and the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the Treaty of Breslau, and the defensive alliance subsisting between him and the king of England, was yet more in the interest of the emperor, as he had no longer any room to doubt that the court of Vienna intended at the first fair opportunity to attempt the recovery of Silesia. The courts of France and Prussia were now again on the point of joining in the common cause, and for the interest of an emperor who seemed on every hand abandoned or oppressed.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the king of France determined to declare war against the king of England and the queen of Hungary: he had no longer any agreements to keep with the English, by whom his ships were continually insulted; nor with Austria, who threatened to carry the war into France, and would not give up a single prisoner, though the terms had been stipulated by cartel in 1741.

The first effect of this change was a secret and bold enterprise, which would have quickly given a new face to one part of Europe had it been successful.

The house of the Stuarts, which, for the space of fifty-four years, had pined in exile far distant from the kingdoms of which it had been stripped, had still many secret partisans in Scotland and Ireland; nor was it without some few in England. Prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II., and

son of that prince who has been so long known to all Europe by the title of "the Pretender," joined to all the ardor of youth and resentment of his condition, the most enterprising and determined courage: he had been often heard to say he would have either a crown or a scaffold. France, which had long been the asylum of that family, became now necessarily its chief support; and there was a probability that Louis XV. might, in his first campaign, have restored the emperor to his dominions, and the heir of the Stuarts to the throne of Great Britain. January 9 the young prince Edward left Rome, and set out on his expedition with a spirit of secrecy and diligence that marked him born for great enterprises: he concealed his journey from a brother whom he loved affectionately, and who would not have suffered him to proceed then without accompanying him. On January 13, he arrived at Genoa disguised like a Spanish courier, and the day after he embarked for Antibes, attended only by one servant, landed safely, and soon reached Paris; nor were the necessary preparations made in France, for conducting him to the British coast, carried on with less secrecy.

The efforts which France now made could hardly have been expected by England, considering the low state in which the French marine had been for some years sunk. She fitted out twenty-six ships of war at Rochefort and Brest, with incredible diligence, and a report was spread that this squadron was to join a Spanish fleet which had lain at Toulon

upward of two years, and where it was blockaded by Admiral Matthews. Twenty ships of war set sail from Brest, carrying four thousand land forces, with arms and ammunition in proportion; and they were joined between Ushant and the Sicily Islands by five sail from Rochefort, commanded by M. de Barail.

This fleet having entered the British channel, divided itself into three squadrons: the strongest, consisting of fourteen vessels, cruised off the coast of Kent; the second was to station itself between Calais and Boulogne; while the third bent its course toward Dunkirk. Count Saxe was at the head of this expedition. He embarked at Dunkirk on March 1, with nine battalions; as did Count de Chaila, with six more, the day following.

Prince Edward was on board the same vessel with Count Saxe, and for the first time had a sight of the desired land. But a violent storm arose, driving the transports back upon the French coast, and many soldiers perished while endeavoring to gain the shore. The young prince would have again attempted the passage with a single vessel. He imagined that his courage and resolution would gain him subjects the moment he should arrive in Great Britain. But the sea, as well as the dispositions made along the English coast to prevent his landing, hindered him from making the attempt.

The court of London was informed of this enterprise as early as the fifteenth of Februray. The Dutch,

as allies of King George, had already sent over two thousand men to his assistance, and were to furnish six thousand, according to their treaty of 1716. Admiral Norris, with a formidable squadron, was in the Downs, which present a continued chain of ports along the Kentish coast, where ships ride secure from bad weather. The militia was also raised; and thus miscarried an enterprise which had been conducted with more art than any conspiracy that had ever been set on foot in England; for King George knew there had been a plot, but could never discover the authors of it. No insight was gained in this matter from the persons who were taken into custody at London, and the government remained as before, involved in trouble and perplexity.

Everything contributed at this time to favor the undertaking. The English troops were abroad, distributed in different parts of the Austrian Netherlands. There was likewise another advantage attending it. It employed the English fleet, which was to reinforce Admiral Matthews, and it was also concerted that his fleet should be engaged by the men of war which France was to leave in the Mediterranean; which for that purpose were to join the Spanish fleet which was to sail from Toulon at the time that Prince Edward was landing in Great Britain.

There were now at Toulon sixteen Spanish ships of war, which were at first intended to escort Don Philip to Italy; but they had been blocked

up for two years by Admiral Matthews' fleet, which lorded it in the Mediterranean, and insulted all the coast of Italy and Provence. The Spanish gunners, being but indifferently skilled in the science they professed, had been for four months exercised in shooting at a mark, and their industry and emulation excited by prizes.

When these were supposed sufficiently expert, the Spanish squadron commanded by Don Joseph Navarro sailed from the port of Toulon. It consisted of but twelve sail, there not being sailors and gunners enough to man the rest. They were soon joined by fourteen French ships of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships, commanded by M. de Court, who had all the vigor both of mind and body necessary to such a command, though fourscore years of age. Forty years before he had commanded as captain on board the admiral's ship in a sea-fight off Malaga, and there had been no naval engagement since in any part of the world, that of Messina excepted, which was fought in 1718. Admiral Matthews set sail to meet the combined squadrons of France and Spain. It may not be amiss to remark here that the rank of admiral in England does not answer to the dignity of admiral in France. There are three admirals in the English service, each of whom has his separate division, subservient to the orders of the lord high admiral, or the board of admiralty.

Matthews' fleet consisted of forty-five sail, five

frigates, and four fire-ships: and to the advantage of number they also joined that of having the wind; a circumstance on which the success in a sea-fight often depends, as much as a victory by land does upon the advantage of the ground. The English were the first who drew up a fleet for engaging in the manner at present practised; other nations have learned from them to divide their squadrons into van, rear, and centre. You are not to imagine that these divisions are three lines; on the contrary, they form only one. The van is to the right, the rear to the left, and the centre in the middle, so that the vessels never present more than one side.

This was the order of battle off Toulon. The shifting of the wind threw the Spaniards into the rear. Admiral Matthews, still taking advantage of the wind, fell upon them with his division. There should never be more space between the vessels than sixty fathoms; at this distance they are as close as they should be, and then one vessel can be in no danger of being attacked by many. But it is very difficult for a whole fleet to govern itself so as to observe this order exactly. The Spanish ships were too far from each other. Two of them were disabled by the very first broadsides; and Matthews had an opportunity of falling upon the Spanish admiral with several of his ships. This vessel, on board of which was Don Joseph de Navarro, was called the *Real* (*Royal*); she carried a thousand men, and mounted one hundred and ten pieces of cannon;

her upper works were amazingly strong, the planks, together with the ribs, being at least three feet in thickness, so that they were impenetrable to a cannon-ball. It is also proper to take notice that the English fire more at the rigging than the hull, preferring disabling and seizing a ship to sinking her.

The Spanish admiral was at one and the same time attacked by the admiral and four ships of the line, who poured upon him jointly a most dreadful fire. Matthews depended upon making her an easy capture, relying on his own great experience in naval affairs, and the Spaniards not being used to them, as well as Navarro's being a land officer, redoubled his hopes. Every Spanish ship also being attacked at once by more than one of the enemy, there was a probability of their being overpowered. Every man on the deck of the *Royal Philip* was either killed or wounded. The captain of the admiral's ship was mortally wounded, and Don Navarro, being wounded in two places, was obliged to leave the deck.

Chevalier de Lage, a French officer in the Spanish service, and second captain of the admiral's ship, maintained the fight against five English vessels. Admiral Matthews was astonished at the quickness with which the Spaniards fired their lower tiers of guns, which violently annoyed everything that came within reach, so that he despatched a fire-ship to destroy her. These vessels are filled with gunpowder and other combustibles; and they fasten

on an enemy's ship with grappling irons. The moment they are fast together they set a match to the train of the fire-ship, while the crew hastens to the boat, and the captain is the last who enters it. In the meantime, the fire taking place, the ship is blown up by the force of the powder, together with the vessel to which it is grappled.

This engine of destruction was within fifteen paces of the *Royal Philip,* when some of the officers proposed to strike and surrender: "You have forgotten, then," said M. de Lage, "that I am on board!" and pointing with his own hand three pieces of cannon at the fire-ship, he discharged them, and the vessel was near going to the bottom. The unhappy captain, seeing his destruction inevitable, determined at least to avenge himself at the moment of his death. He ordered fire to be set to the train, hoping that he might yet work down upon the *Royal Philip,* and blow her up along with himself. But it was too late: the ship was soon in flames, and blew up within seven or eight feet of the Spanish admiral, the deck of which was covered with the wreck. M. de Lage says he saw the body of the English captain and some sailors reduced in a moment to a coal, not above two feet long, and as light as a cork. The *Royal Philip* did not receive the slightest damage from this violent explosion.

M. de Court, who hoisted his flag on board the *Terrible,* and fought in the centre, was at one time engaged with three ships within pistol-shot. He did

the enemy a great deal of mischief, and getting clear of them, bore down to the assistance of the Spanish admiral and fleet. The English could make themselves masters of only one Spanish ship, called the *Poder,* which was entirely dismantled. They had already sent some of their hands on board to navigate the vessel, and the remainder of her crew, consisting of four hundred Spaniards, were obliged to surrender. Matthews was at this time retreating; and the English on board the *Poder,* being busied in securing their prize, were themselves made prisoners. Superiority of numbers was of no service to the English fleet; for their rear, commanded by Vice-Admiral Lestock, was four miles distant. Whether Lestock, at variance with Matthews, would have willingly deprived him of the glory of the day, or whether Matthews did not choose to share with him that glory, is a question we cannot here decide. Be that as it may, a brisk wind springing up from the west in the night obliged the fleets to separate, and each drew off to repair its damage. The English retired into Port Mahon, the French into Cartagena, and the Spaniards into Barcelona.

This action of Toulon, like almost all sea-fights, that of La Hogue excepted, was quite indecisive. In these engagements it commonly happens that the only fruit of great preparations and indefatigable contention is the slaughter of many men, and disabling vessels. There were complaints from all par-

ties; the Spaniards supposed they had not been sufficiently supported, and the French accused them of want of gratitude. Though there was an alliance between the two nations, there had not always been unanimity. Their ancient antipathy was sometimes kindled in the breasts of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the agreement of their kings. On the other hand, Matthews preferred complaints against his vice-admiral to the government, and sent him home to be tried. He retorted the accusation upon the admiral, to whose bravery and conduct M. de Court publicly subscribed, and he repaid the compliment. If his fate was hard in being accused of misbehavior by his own officers, it was, however, glorious for him to be acquitted by the enemy. However, to gratify the Spaniards, the French commandant was banished to his country-house, two leagues from Paris: and the English admiral being, after a long trial, brought in guilty, was, by a council of war, which is in England called a court-martial, declared forever incapable of serving the crown.

The custom of judging severely, and of stigmatizing unsuccessful generals, had been lately brought into Christendom from Turkey. The emperor Charles VI. had given two examples of it in his last war against the Turks, which war was looked upon by all Europe to have been as injudiciously planned as it was unfortunately fought. The Swedes, since that, condemned to death two of their generals, whose fate all Europe lamented, nor did this

severity make their domestic government happier or more respectable. A subject so important deserves to be dwelt upon a little.

The government of France, directed by principles of greater lenity, are satisfied with inflicting only a slight disgrace upon their general officers, for that very conduct which would induce other states to lay them in irons, or cut off their heads. To me it is very plain, that neither justice nor well-founded policy requires that the life of a general should depend upon bad success; surely unless he be a rebel or a traitor he will do his utmost, and there is no sort of equity in cruelly punishing a man who has acquitted himself to the best of his ability; nor is it, perhaps, sound policy to introduce the custom of persecuting a general who is unfortunate; because in that case, those who begin a campaign indifferently in the service of their natural prince, may be tempted to conclude it in that of the enemy.

The consequences, however, proved that the advantage in the Toulon engagement was on the side of France and Spain. The Mediterranean was left open, at least for some time, and Don Philip was easily supplied with provisions, which he much wanted, from the coast of Provence: but neither the French nor Spanish squadrons were able to make head against Matthews, when he returned to his station, having refitted his ships. France and Spain, being under the necessity of always supporting a very numerous army, have not that inexhaustible

supply of sailors which are the source of Great Britain's power. It was now more than ever evident that it was of vast importance to that crown to keep Minorca, and the loss of it was very prejudicial to Spain. It was a melancholy consideration that those islanders should have been able to deprive the Spanish monarchy of a port still more useful than Gibraltar; and which, from its situation, gave them always the power to harass, at one and the same time, Spain, Italy, and France. Spain, which possessed harbors in Africa, in spite of the Moors, yet could not hinder the English from keeping ports in her own dominions, and that against her will.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRINCE OF CONTI FORCES THE PASSAGE OF THE ALPS — SITUATION OF AFFAIRS IN ITALY.

In the midst of all these struggles, Louis XV. declared war against the king of Great Britain, and soon after against the queen of Hungary, who in return declared it also against him in form; but these declarations were little more than additional ceremonies. Spain and Naples made war without declaring it.

Don Philip was at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, under the command of the marquis de la Mina, and the prince of Conti had with him twenty thousand French; both these leaders inspired their troops with that confidence and resolution so neces-

sary for penetrating into a country where a single battalion may stop a whole army, where you are every instant obliged to fight among rocks and torrents, and where all these obstacles are heightened by the difficulty of convoys. The prince of Conti, who had served as a lieutenant-general in the unsuccessful war of Bavaria, young as he was, had acquired experience, and understood the consequence of those disappointments to which an army is exposed in almost every campaign. He had not as yet seen a campaign in Italy, where war is carried on in a very different manner from what it is in open countries; but he had prepared himself for this expedition by a constant application of ten hours a day, during the winter which he passed at Paris. He knew even the smallest rock, and was perfectly master of all that had been performed under Marshal Catinat and the duke of Vendôme, as if he had been present himself.

The first of April the Infante Don Philip and the prince of Conti passed the Var, a river which falls from the Alps and empties itself into the sea of Genoa below Nice. The whole country of that name surrendered; but, before they could advance any farther, they were under the necessity of attacking the entrenchments near Villafranca, and those of the fortress of Montalban, in the midst of rocks which form a long chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. There was no possibility of marching but through narrow defiles, and over frightful preci-

pices, exposed to the enemy's artillery. Full in the front of this fire they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock, and even on the Alps they had the English to encounter. Admiral Matthews, having careened his ships, returned to assume the empire of the seas: he landed with some of his men at Villafranca, who joined the Piedmontese; and his gunners served the artillery. But the prince of Conti concerted his measures so well, and his troops were so full of spirits, that they surmounted all these obstacles. The marquis de Bissy at the head of the French, and the marquis of Campo Santo at the head of the Spaniards, soon made themselves masters of the enemy's batteries, which flanked the passage of Villafranca. M. de Mirepoix and M. d'Argouges opened another way for themselves: they made four false attacks where they had no intention to penetrate; but M. de Bissy made two such brisk assaults against those places which he intended to carry; everything was so well concerted, so quick, and so vigorously pushed; M. d'Argouges, at the head of the regiments of Languedoc and of the Isle of France; and M. du Barrail with his regiment, made such prodigious efforts, that this rampart of Piedmont, above two hundred fathoms high, which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite out of their reach, was carried by the French and Spaniards.

On the one side, M. du Châtel and M. de Castelar ascended through very narrow byways to an eminence called Mount Eleus, whence they drove the

Piedmontese; on the other side, the marquis de Bissy fought for two hours on the top of a rock called Monte Grosso. When the French and Spaniards had clambered up to the top of the rock, and saw that they must either conquer or die, they treated one another as brothers; they assisted each other with ardor; and, joining their efforts, they battered down the entrenchments of the enemy. This rock was defended by fourteen battalions, who had a secure retreat. One hundred and thirty officers of the Piedmontese, with seventeen hundred men, were taken prisoners, and two thousand were killed. The marquis de Suza, natural brother of the king of Sardinia, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to M. de Bissy. The top of the mountain, on which the marquis du Châtel had taken post, commanded the enemy's entrenchments, so that at length they were obliged to fly to Onegalia, to the number of three thousand men, and embark on board Admiral Matthews' fleet, who was witness of the defeat. The count de Choiseul brought the king the news of this victory, in which this officer had distinguished himself. They advanced from post to post, from rock to rock: they took the citadel of Villafranca, and the fort of Montalban, where they found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with provisions in proportion. But all this was no more than dividing the dominion of the Alps, and fighting on the top of high mountains.

While these passes were thus being forced in

favor of Don Philip, he was not yet much nearer the dominions to which he pretended in Italy. The duke of Modena was also as far from retaking the country of that name, as the Infante from penetrating to Parma and Milan. The Austrians and the Piedmontese were masters everywhere, from the top of the Alps to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The court of Spain had recalled the duke of Montemar; and Count de Gages, under the duke of Modena, was gathering together the remains of the Spanish army, which was still retiring before the Austrians, who had already laid the province of Abruzzo under contribution. The king of Naples could no longer observe an unfortunate neutrality, which had been greatly abused, and would have only contributed to deprive him of his crown. He therefore set out for Naples, to put himself at the head of his army. The queen, who was then pregnant, withdrew to Gaeta, in the latter end of April, 1744; and it was even then proposed to remove her to Rome, in case of an unlucky blow, or of an insurrection in Naples, with which the Austrians affected to frighten him. Such was the vicissitude of affairs that the queen of Hungary, who three years before had been obliged to leave Vienna, thought herself very nearly making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz had a manifesto ready, copies of which he afterward spread through the kingdom toward the month of June, wherein the queen of Hungary addressed herself to the inhab-

itants of the two Sicilies, as to subjects to whom she was granting her protection.

England at this time exerted herself more than ever in this queen's cause; she augmented her subsidies, and spent upon the war of this year — 1744 — two hundred and seventy-four million nine hundred and sixty-four thousand livres, French money; and this expense was augmented every year. She maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean which entirely ruined the trade of Provence: she recalled the troops that fought at Dettingen to Flanders; and these, joined to the Flemish and Dutch regiments, formed, in the beginning of the campaign, an army of above sixty thousand men. Prince Charles, with the same number of forces, was coming to make another attempt to pass the Rhine. The emperor, whose neutrality was imaginary, while his misfortunes were but too real, preserved the shattered remains of his army under the cannon of the imperial city of Philipsburg, and waited for his fate at Frankfort, uncertain whether he should be maintained in possession of the imperial crown by France, or stripped of it by the queen of Hungary.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF LOUIS XV. IN FLANDERS — HIS SUCCESSES — HE LEAVES FLANDERS TO FLY TO THE DEFENCE OF ALSACE, INVADED BY THE AUSTRIANS, WHILE THE PRINCE OF CONTI CONTINUES TO FORCE A PASSAGE THROUGH THE ALPS — NEW ALLIANCES — THE KING OF PRUSSIA ONCE MORE TAKES UP ARMS.

Such was the critical and dangerous situation of affairs when Louis XV. began his first campaign. He had appointed Marshal Coigny to defend the passage of the Rhine with sixty-one battalions and one hundred squadrons. The Bavarian troops, consisting of nearly twelve thousand men, and paid by France, were commanded by Count Seckendorff, an officer in whom they at that time had the greatest dependence. Marshal de Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which consisted of sixty-eight battalions and ninety-seven squadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marshal of France, and commanded a separate corps, composed of thirty-two battalions and fifty-eight squadrons, also complete: thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to about eighty thousand fighting men.

There still remained on the banks of the Rhine and Moselle seventy-five battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons, exclusive of the army in Italy, thirty thousand militia, the garrisons, the light troops, the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the

Hessians. This situation, especially in Flanders, was very different from what it had been the preceding year at the death of Cardinal Fleury. The English might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage; but now they came too late; and the Dutch, who refused to engage with them when this enterprise was easy, now took a share in it when it was become impracticable.

The king chose to make the campaign in Flanders rather than in Alsace, supposing that on the Rhine the war would be only defensive; whereas everything was disposed for making it offensive in the Austrian Netherlands.

As it was not known that he had been ready the preceding year to head his army in person, so it was a long time before the public knew that he was to set out for Flanders; with such secrecy did he conduct even those things which are generally preceded by a pompous parade. It is natural for a people who have been governed eight hundred years by the same family to love their king; besides, he had only one son, the dauphin, who was not yet married; all these circumstances gave rise to uncommon movements of zeal and affection, mixed with joy and fear, in the breasts of the inhabitants of Paris.

The king reviewed his army in the neighborhood of Lille, and made some new regulations for the establishing of military discipline, a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted. His aides-de-camp were Messrs. de Meuze, de Richelieu,

de Luxembourg, de Bouflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubise and de Peguigny. The enemy were commanded by General Wade, an old officer, who, like the earl of Stair, had been bred under the duke of Marlborough, and was well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had served a great many campaigns: the English had great expectations from his experience and abilities. The duke of Aremberg, of the house of Ligne, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops. This nobleman had spent a great part of his life at the court of France, where his person was extremely liked: his inclination led him to live among the French, and his duty to fight against them. He was trained up under Prince Eugene, had served against the Turks and the French, and was not a little instrumental to the success of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, in both which he was wounded at the head of his troops.

Count Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch, was a descendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Nassau, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and grandeur. This prince, dying before he could fulfil the promise of marriage which he had made to his mistress, Mme. de Mechelin, his posterity were deprived of the honors annexed to his house.

Those three generals had it in their power to oppose the king's designs, had they been united; but

the Dutch were temporizing and negotiating. On the one hand they were strongly pressed by the English to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war, within the space of two months, against any power that should attack either of the two nations: on the other hand, they flattered themselves with keeping up the appearances of moderation, even in war itself; and were arming against the king, at the same time that they were afraid of provoking him. In this dilemma they deputed Count de Wassenaer to Louis, a person agreeable to the court of France, where he had been formerly in a public character, and where his frankness and complaisance, with other amiable qualities, had produced him a great many friends. The count used the most respectful and most insinuating language to the king; desiring protection for his person, and peace for Europe.

The king answered: "The choice, sir, which the states-general have made of you on this occasion, cannot but be very agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your personal merit. My whole conduct toward your republic, since my accession to the crown, has been such as should have convinced her how desirous I was to maintain a sincere friendship and perfect correspondence with her.

"I have long and sufficiently made known my inclination to peace; but the more I have delayed to declare war, the less shall I suspend its operations.

My ministers will give me an account of the commission with which you are charged; and after I have communicated it to my allies, I shall let your masters know my ultimate resolutions."

On May 18 the king made himself master of Courtray, a small town, which had an Austrian garrison. The day following, the Dutch ambassador saw him invest Menin, a barrier town, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men.

Menin was far from being a little paltry town, as some journalists are pleased to call it: on the contrary, it was one of the celebrated Vauban's masterpieces. He built this fortification with some regret, foreseeing that one day we should be obliged to surrender it to strangers, who would enjoy the fruit of French ingenuity.

The king reconnoitred the place several times: he even approached within pistol-shot of the palisade, with Marshal de Noailles, Count d'Argenson, and all his court. The trenches were opened May 29. The king encouraged the pioneers by his liberality, ordering a hundred and fifty louis d'or to be distributed among those who worked at the attack toward the gates of Ypres, and a hundred to those who worked toward the gate of Lille. At the assault, commanded by Prince Clermont, they carried all the works with the utmost rapidity; and they drained the inundation made by the besieged. The covert-way was taken June 4; the next day the

town capitulated, and was the first which the king took in person. The commanding officer was permitted to march out with all military honors.

The king thought proper to demolish the fortifications of this town, in which such great sums had been expended. This was at once showing an instance of moderation to the states-general, by letting them see that he did not intend to make use of this fortress against them; and was taking some revenge, and teaching them to show a greater respect to France, by demolishing one of their barriers.

The very next day the king caused Ypres to be invested; and while preparations were being made for the siege, he assisted at a *Te Deum* in Lille, such as had never been seen on those frontiers. Three princesses of the blood, whose husbands, brothers, sons, or sons-in-law, were fighting in different places for the king, adorned this ceremony. The duchess of Modena had accompanied her nephew, the duke of Chartres, into Flanders, along with the duke of Penthièvre, who was on the point of marrying her daughter; while her husband, the duke of Modena, was at the head of the Spanish army in Italy. The duchess of Chartres had followed her husband; and the princess of Conti, whose son was at that time upon the Alps, and whose daughter was married to the duke of Chartres, accompanied those two princesses.

The prince of Clermont, abbot of St.-Germain-des-Prés, commanded the principal attacks at the

siege of Ypres. There had been no instance, since the cardinals de la Valette and de Sourdis, of a person in whom both professions, the gown and the sword, were united. The prince of Clermont had obtained this permission from Pope Clement XII., who thought fit that the Church should be subordinate to the army in the grandson of the great Condé. They stormed the covert-way of the front of the lower town; but this action has been censured as premature and too hazardous. The marquis de Beauveau, major-general, marched to the assault at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and Royal-Comtois, where he received a wound, which gave him the most excruciating pain, and proved mortal. His death was regretted by all the officers and soldiers, as a person whom they thought capable of one day commanding the armies of France; and lamented by all Paris, as a man of probity and wit; he was one of the most curious antiquarians in Europe, having formed a cabinet of very scarce medals; and was, at that time, the only man of his profession that cultivated this kind of knowledge.

The king ordered rewards to be given to all the officers of grenadiers who had attacked the covert-way, and carried it. Ypres soon capitulated. Every moment was improved; for while the king's troops were taking possession of Ypres, the duke of Boufflers reduced Fort Knock; and during a visit, which the king made after these expeditions, to the frontier towns, the prince of Clermont laid siege to Furnes,

which capitulated the fifth day after opening the trenches.

The allied army beheld the progress of the French, without being able to oppose it. The body of troops commanded by Marshal Saxe was so well posted, and so effectually covered the army of the besiegers, that they could not but be certain of success. The allies had no fixed, no determinate plan of operations; those of the French army were all concerted. Marshal Saxe was posted at Courtray, where he was able to prevent any attempt of the enemy, and to facilitate the operations of the besiegers. A numerous train of artillery, which was easily brought from Douay; a regiment of artillery, consisting of some five thousand men, full of officers capable of conducting a siege, and composed of soldiers, most of them very able artisans; in short, a very considerable body of engineers, were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations that had hastily united only to wage war together for a few years. Establishments of this kind must be the fruit of time, and of the constant attention of a powerful monarchy. The French will ever be superior in a war whose operations consist chiefly in sieges.

In the midst of all these successes, advice came that the enemy had passed the Rhine toward Spires, within sight of the French and Bavarians; that Alsace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorraine exposed. At first nobody would believe it; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by

alarming the French in several places, and making different attempts at one and the same time, at length succeeded on the side where Count Seckendorff was posted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Hessians.

This passage of the Rhine, which did such honor to Prince Charles, was entirely owing to his diligence, and the neglect with which the public voice in France reproached the general of the Bavarian troops. Count Seckendorff was on the other side of the Rhine in the neighborhood of Philippsburg, covered by that fortress, and able to awe any detachment of the enemy that should present themselves on that side. General Nadasti advanced toward him, while the other divisions of the Austrian army bordered the river lower down, and kept the French at bay. The Bavarians withdrew, and repassed the Rhine: Marshal Coigny was obliged to entrust Count Seckendorff to guard the banks of the river toward Germersheim and Rinsabeau: the count undertook to defend them: and this was the very place where Prince Charles passed the Rhine.

A colonel of irregular troops, named Trenk, had succeeded Mentzel, who was killed a few days before: this man advanced softly toward a place that was covered with willows and other aquatic trees, followed by several boats loaded with pandours, waradins, and hussars. He silently reached the other side of the river toward Germersheim: about six thousand men passed in this manner; and having

advanced half a league, at length they met with three Bavarian regiments, whom they defeated, and put to flight. Prince Charles caused a second bridge of boats to be built, over which his troops passed without opposition. Marshal Coigny being informed of this disaster, despatched his son and the marquis de Croissi in all haste with a detachment of dragoons. The marquis du Châtelet-Lomont followed them with ten battalions of the best regiments: they all arrived at a time when the enemy were forming themselves amidst the morasses; and had no other resource but their bridges, if they happened to be defeated.

Those three officers pressed General Seckendorff very hard to attack the enemy: they represented to him the important moment, the advantage of situation, and the ardor of the troops. The count at first promised to march, but afterward changed his opinion: in vain did they insist upon his complying: he answered that he was better informed than they; and that he must write to the emperor, upon which he left them, filled with indignation and surprise.

Thus the Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without the least resistance. In an hour's time Prince Charles made himself master of Lauterburg, a post of no great strength, but of the utmost importance. He made General Nadasti advance as far as Weissenburg, an open town, whose garrison was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: after this he

put a body of ten thousand men into the town, and in the lines around it.

Marshal Coigny, whose army extended along the Rhine, saw that his communication with France was cut off; that Alsace, the country of Metz, and Lorraine were going to be a prey to the Austrians and Hungarians; in short, there was no other resource left but to cut his way through the enemy, in order to re-enter Alsace, and to cover the country. Having resolved upon this measure, he instantly set out with the greatest part of his army for Weissenburg, just after the enemy had taken possession of it. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Austrians defended themselves with great bravery: they fought in the market-places and in the streets, which were strewed with dead bodies; and the engagement lasted six hours. The Bavarians, who had defended the Rhine so ill, repaired their misconduct by their valor: they were principally led by the count de Mortagne, at that time lieutenant-general in the emperor's service, who received ten musket shot in his clothes. The marquis de Montal headed the French; and at length they retook Weissenburg and the lines; but they were soon obliged, upon the arrival of the whole Austrian army, to retire toward Hagenau, which they were likewise forced to abandon. Flying parties of the enemy spread terror even to Lorraine, and King Stanislaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

When the king received this news at Dunkirk,

he did not hesitate a moment concerning the part he had to take: he resolved to interrupt the course of his victories in Flanders; and leaving Marshal Saxe with forty thousand men to preserve his new acquisitions, he flew to the assistance of Alsace.

After having caused Marshal de Noailles to set out before him, he sent the duke d'Harcourt with some troops to guard the straits of Pflazburg, and prepared to march at the head of twenty-six battalions, and thirty-three squadrons. This resolution of his majesty in his first campaign revived the drooping spirits of the provinces, disheartened by the enemy's passing the Rhine, and still more so by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany. The nation's zeal was so much the more excited, as in everything the king wrote, in his letters ordering *Te Deum* to be sung, in his declarations to foreign persons, in his letters to his family, the desire of peace, and the love of his people, were always his principal topics. This new style, in an absolute monarch, affected the minds, and at the same time roused the spirits, of the nation.

The king took his route by St. Quentin, La Fère, Laon, and Rheims, ordering his troops to march with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the soldier's pay and subsistence, an attention which increased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz August 5, and on the seventh tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs,

obliged Prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous situation than any she had yet been in.

One would imagine that this princess had nothing to fear from the king of Prussia, after the Peace of Breslau; and especially after a defensive alliance, concluded the same year as the Treaty of Breslau, between that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, having united against the emperor by the Treaty of Worms; the Northern powers, and especially Russia, having been strongly solicited to come into this alliance; the progress of the queen of Hungary's arms increased daily in Germany; from all these circumstances, it was plain, sooner or later, that the king of Prussia had everything to fear. At length he determined to renew his engagements with France; the treaty had been signed secretly, April 5; and afterward a strict alliance was concluded at Frankfort, between the king of France, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector palatine, and the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Thus the secret union of Frankfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms, and on both sides they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

Marshal Schmettau arrived, on the part of the Prussian monarch, to inform the king of France that his new ally was marching toward Prague with

an army of eighty thousand men, and that twenty-two thousand Prussians were advancing as far as Moravia. At the same time advice was brought of the fresh progress which the Infante Don Philip and the prince of Conti were making in the Alps; but, notwithstanding the scaling of those mountains at Montalban and Villafranca, and the victories obtained among those precipices, they had not as yet been able to open a passage on that side: they could not advance, for want of subsistence, through those defiles, and over those rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by soldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to walk, in several places, on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was washed by the sea, and where they were exposed to the artillery of the English fleet. Besides, the Genoese had not yet signed their treaty; the negotiations were still pending; so that the thorns of politics retarded the progress of the French arms. They opened themselves, however, a new road on the side of Briançon toward the valley of Suza, and at length they penetrated as far as Château Dauphin.

The bailiff de Givry led nine French battalions of the regiments of Poitou, Conti, Sales, Provence, and Brie, between two mountains. The count de Campo Santo followed him, at the head of the Spaniards, through another defile. Givry scaled a rock in broad day, on which there were two thousand Piedmontese intrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the first

that scaled the ramparts of Prague, was likewise one of the first that mounted this rock; but this was a more sanguinary action by far than that of Prague. The assailants had no artillery, and were exposed to the cannon of the Piedmontese. The king of Sardinia was in person behind the intrenchments, animating his troops. The bailiff de Givry was wounded in the very beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur, being informed that a passage of equal importance had been just then luckily found out, sent orders for a retreat. Givry obeys; but both the officers and soldiers were too greatly animated to follow his direction. The lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaps into the first intrenchments; the grenadiers dart themselves one upon the other; and, what is hardly credible, they pass through the embrasures of the enemy's cannon, at the very instant when the pieces, having fired, were recoiling by their ordinary motion. The French lost nearly two thousand men, but not one of the Piedmontese escaped.

The king of Sardinia, in despair, attempted to throw himself into the midst of the assailants; and it was with difficulty he was withheld. Givry lost his life; Colonel Salis and the marquis de la Carte were killed; the duke d'Agenois, and a great many others were wounded: but it cost them a great deal less than they might have expected in such a situation. The Count de Campo Santo, who could not reach this narrow and steep defile where this furious engagement was fought, wrote to the marquis de la

Mina, general of the Spanish army under Don Philip: "Some opportunities will offer, in which we shall behave as well as the French; for it is impossible to behave better." I commonly transcribe the letters of general officers, when I find they contain any interesting matter, for which reason I shall insert here what the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this action. "It is one of the most glorious and most obstinate engagements that ever were fought: the troops have shown such valor as surpasses nature. The brigade of Poitou, with Monsieur d'Agenois at their head, have gained immortal glory.

"The bravery and presence of mind of M. de Chevert contributed chiefly to the advantage of the day. I recommend M. de Solemi, and the chevalier de Modène, to your majesty. La Carte is killed: your majesty, who knows the value of friendship, must be sensible how greatly I am affected by this loss." Let me be permitted to say, that such expressions from a prince to a king are lessons of virtue to the rest of mankind.

While they were taking Château Dauphin, they were obliged to force the place known by the name of the Barricades. This is a pass of about eighteen feet wide, between two mountains which rear their heads to the sky. The king of Sardinia had turned the river of Stura, which waters the valley, into this precipice: the post on the other side of the river was defended by three intrenchments and a covert-way.

It was necessary then for the French to make themselves masters of the castle of Demont, which had been built at an immense expense on the top of a rock, that stood by itself in the middle of the valley of Stura, before they could become masters of the Alps, whence they would have a view of the plains of Piedmont. These barricades were forced with great dexterity by the French and Spaniards, the day before the attack of Château Dauphin: they took them almost without striking a blow, by putting those who defended them between two fires. It was this extraordinary advantage, called the "day of the barricades," that had induced the marquis de Villemur to order a retreat from before Château Dauphin. This general officer and the count de Lautrec having executed the enterprise of the barricades with more than ordinary success, as it was not attended with the loss of any of the king's troops, was desirous to spare the effusion of human blood before Château Dauphin; because, after forcing the barricades, this fortress must fall of itself: but the bravery of the king's troops transported them farther than was expected, and in two days' time the valley of Stura, defended by the barricades, and by Château Dauphin, was laid open.

The surmounting of so many obstacles toward Italy, a powerful diversion made in Germany, the king's conquests in Flanders, and his march into Alsace, had removed the public apprehension, when an alarm of another kind threw all France into consternation.

CHAPTER X.

THE KING'S ILLNESS — HIS LIFE IS IN DANGER — AS SOON AS HE RECOVERS, HE MARCHES INTO GERMANY — HE LAYS SIEGE TO FREIBURG, WHILE THE AUSTRIAN ARMY, WHICH HAD PENETRATED INTO ALSACE, MARCHES BACK TO THE RELIEF OF BOHEMIA; AND THE PRINCE OF CONTI GAINS A BATTLE IN ITALY.

THE very day that *Te Deum* was sung at Metz for the taking of Château Dauphin, the king was attacked with some symptoms of a fever; this was on August 8. His illness increasing, turned to a malignant disorder; and on August 14 at night his life was thought to be in danger. He had a very strong constitution, hardened by exercise; but the most robust bodies are the soonest overcome by such distempers. The news of the king being in danger spread desolation from town to town, the people flocked from every side of the country about Metz, the roads were filled with men of every age and condition, who by their different reports increased the general inquietude.

On the evening of August 14, the queen received an express from the duke de Gevres, who informed her of the great danger his majesty was in. The queen, the dauphin, and his sisters, and all about them were in tears; the whole palace and town of Versailles resounded with lamentations. The royal

family set out post that very night, without the least preparations. The queen, who was accustomed to give away her money in acts of generosity, had not enough about her to defray the expenses of her journey: they were therefore obliged to send in the middle of the night to the receiver-general of the finances at Paris for a thousand louis d'or. The ladies at court followed the queen without a single servant; the staircases, the courtyards, and the avenues, were filled with innumerable crowds of people, who followed the queen's coaches at a distance, some with mournful cries, and others in silent consternation. The news was immediately spread through Paris; the people left their beds, and ran up and down the streets, without knowing where they were going; some repaired to the ramparts, where they might see the royal family pass by at a distance; others flock to the churches; there is no longer any distinction of the time of sleep, of waking, or of rest; all Paris is in consternation; the houses of the officers at court are besieged by a continual crowd; the people gather in the public squares, and break out into a general cry, "If he dies, it is for having marched to our assistance."

And indeed his illness was owing to his exposing himself too much, on his march, to the scorching heat of the sun; for the ray that struck him darted with such violence as to burn his thigh. They represented to themselves what he had done in his first campaign; their concern was not owing to the

misfortunes they might have reason to fear; no, they were too much grieved to have any foresight. Their affection deprived them of their understanding; strangers accosted one another and asked questions in church; the priest, as he was reciting the collect for the king's recovery, mingled his prayer with his tears; and the people answered him with sobs and lamentations. The poor gave charity to the poor, desiring them to *pray for the king;* and these carried the money they received to the foot of the altar. There were some people in Paris who fainted away, and others who were seized with a fit of illness, upon hearing that the king was in danger. The city magistrates appointed couriers, who every three hours brought them tidings of his condition. The superior courts sent to Metz: each had their couriers, who were passing continually to and fro. As they returned to Paris they were stopped on the road and at the gates, by a multitude of people in tears. The physicians who attended the king sent reports of the king's condition every three hours, to satisfy the people, who read those certificates of health with impatience and trembling.

The queen arrived at St. Dizier, where she found her father, Stanislaus, king of Poland, who had left the king's apartment the very moment that they despaired of his life. The general concern was then at the greatest height; they thought the king was dead, and the rumor was spread through all the

neighboring towns. But he was treated in a very proper manner by his physicians, to whom such disorders are familiar, and who, joining reason with experience, knew extremely well that the whole consists only in letting nature operate freely; that, when this method does not succeed, we must leave our days to Him who has counted them; all the rest being only a false art, which imposes on human weakness.

The queen arrived August 17, when they began to have hopes again of the king's life. The courier who brought the news of his recovery was embraced and almost suffocated by the people; they kissed his horse; they led him about in triumph through all the streets, which resounded with cries of joy: "The king is recovered." Strangers embraced one another; they ran to prostrate themselves in the churches; there was not so much as a company of tradesmen, but gave order for *Te Deum* to be sung. The king still kept his bed, and was very weak, when they gave him an account of these surprising transports of joy which had succeeded such scenes of sorrow. This affected him so much as to draw tears from his eyes; when deriving strength from his sensibility, he raised himself up in his bed and said: "Oh! what a pleasure it is to be thus beloved! and what have I done to deserve it?"

The first days of his recovery were distinguished by new advantages obtained by his arms in Italy. The prince of Conti, after having forced the barri-

cades of the defiles of Stura, which seemed impenetrable, and after the taking of Château Dauphin, luckily reached the mountain of Demont: here he took every intrenchment, and at length compelled twelve hundred men, who defended this last fortress of the Alps, to surrender at discretion.

This news pleased the king, and comforted him in his recovery. Though he had been at the point of death, yet he never lost sight of the interest of his people. Marshal de Noailles at that time had the chief command of the army in Alsace, reinforced by the troops from Flanders, which the king's illness hindered him from conducting in person. Before that misfortune, this prince intended to give battle to Prince Charles, who had sent his flying parties as far as Lorraine; and notwithstanding the fact that the troops had been retarded in their march, his attention was still taken up with the expectation of an engagement; so that when he thought himself in danger of dying, he said to Count d'Argenson, who never stirred from his pillow during the whole time of his illness: "Tell Marshal de Noailles from me, that while they were carrying Louis XIII. to the grave, the prince of Condé obtained a victory." But Marshal de Noailles could only fall upon the rear of Prince Charles's army, which was retiring in good order, and cut off about eighteen hundred men. In this skirmish, which cost France but two hundred men, the chevalier d'Orléans, grand prior of France, and M. de Fremur were dangerously wounded.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine in spite of the French forces, repassed it, almost without any loss, within sight of a superior army. The king of Prussia complained most bitterly against their letting an enemy escape, who was coming to wreak his vengeance upon him. Here indeed they missed a lucky opportunity. The king's illness had retarded the march of the troops; besides, they must have passed through a difficult morass to attack Prince Charles, who had taken all his precautions, secured his bridges, and contrived everything that could facilitate his retreat, insomuch that he did not lose a single magazine. Having therefore repassed the Rhine with fifty thousand men complete, he marched toward the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and, after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Strasburg, he hastened to deliver Bohemia a second time. The king of Prussia advanced toward Prague, and invested it on September 4; and it is somewhat remarkable, that General Ogilvi, who defended the town with fifteen thousand men, ten days after surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war. This was the same governor who gave up the town in less time in 1741, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand Austrians being thus made prisoners of war at the taking of the capital of Bohemia, the remainder of the kingdom being subdued a few days after, Moravia invaded at the

same time, the French army returning to Germany, and other successes attending their arms in Italy; in such a situation one would have imagined that the grand European quarrel was on the point of being decided in favor of the emperor. This prince was preparing to return to Munich, as soon as he could receive intelligence that the road was left open, by Prince Charles's repassing the frontiers of Bavaria in his march to the assistance of Bohemia. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, having acceded to the union of Frankfort, had already three thousand men in the pay of the king of France, and was to furnish him with six thousand more. The elector palatine was always of that party. The elector of Saxony, who had been in the first alliance against the queen of Hungary, might now renew it; and to this he was strongly solicited by the king of Prussia, who promised him six circles in Bohemia. But as he kept two for himself, those of Königgrätz and Leutmeritz, by his treaty with France, there was very little left for the emperor: and this was a new partition of the territories of the house of Austria. He offered a principality in the empire to Count Brühl, prime minister of Saxony; at the same time he promised Father Quarini, the queen of Poland's confessor, the emperor's nomination to a cardinal's dignity; and among the pleasures of his successes he reckoned he should enjoy that of seeing a Jesuit introduced into the sacred college by a Protestant prince. The appearances were favorable, when

Prince Charles was yet in Alsace, and the king of France in full march to attack him with superior forces.

The king's sickness, as we have observed, disconcerted this project, which one would have imagined impossible to miss; though indeed its success seemed to be only retarded. Prince Charles's army was likely to diminish very much in his precipitate march toward Bohemia: and scarcely had the Austrians quitted Bavaria, when the king gave orders for the siege of Freiburg, the bulwark of Upper Austria, which Marshal Coigny invested on October 30.

The king's physicians all advised him not to expose himself to the unwholesome air of that province, after so dangerous an illness, but to return to Versailles. He did not mind their advice, being determined to finish the campaign. While he was at Strasburg, where his reception was one of the most magnificent ceremonies ever beheld, the marquis de Bissy arrived from Italy with the news of a victory. The Infante Don Philip and the prince of Conti had laid siege to Coni: the king of Sardinia, with a superior army, attacked them in their lines. Nothing could be better concerted than this prince's enterprise: it was on one of those occasions where it is good policy to hazard a battle. If he won the day, the French had few resources, and their retreat would have been attended with difficulty: if he lost it, the town was still able to hold out

in this advanced season, and he had a very safe retreat. The disposition of his army was one of the most judicious ever known; for having less cavalry by one-half than the besiegers, and more infantry by half, he made his attack in such a manner, that his infantry was to have the whole advantage of the ground, and his cavalry was not at all to suffer. And yet he was beaten; the French and Spaniards, notwithstanding the national jealousies which used constantly to rise on the cessation of danger, fought with all the harmony of allies who support each other, and with the emulation of rivals that are desirous of setting a mutual example. The king of Sardinia lost nearly five thousand men, and the battle; the Spaniards lost only nine hundred; the French had twelve hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter were the marquis de Senneterre, the marquis de la Force, who died of his wounds, the chevalier de Chauvelin, and the chevalier de Chabannes: the prince of Conti, who commanded as a general and fought as a soldier, had his cuirass pierced through with two shot, and two horses killed under him. Of this he made no mention to the king; but he enlarged a good deal on the wounds of Messrs. de Senneterre, de la Force, and de Chauvelin, on the signal services of M. de Courten, on those of Messrs. du Caylus, de Choiseul, de Beaupré, and of all those who had behaved gallantly; desiring they should be particularly rewarded. Among the prodigious number of offi-

cers, who deserved the commendation of the prince of Conti, he took particular notice in his letters of Messrs. de Montmorency, d'Agenois, de Stainville, of the marquis de Maillebois, quartermaster-general, and of M. de Chauvelin, major-general of the army. This history would be only one continued list of names, were I to recite all the brave actions, which, becoming common from their great number, are continually lost in the crowd.

This new victory was likewise one of those which are productive of losses, without being attended with any real advantages to the victors. In a little time, the rigor of the season, the great quantity of snow, the inundation of the Stura, and the overflowing of the torrents were of more service to the king of Sardinia than gaining the battle of Coni was to Don Philip and to the prince of Conti. They were obliged to raise the siege, and to repass the mountains, after they had weakened their army. It is generally the fate of those who fight toward the Alps, and have not the master of Piedmont on their side, to lose their armies even by their victories.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SIEGE OF FREIBURG CONTINUED — STATE OF AFFAIRS IN GERMANY AND ITALY.

In this wet season the king was before Freiburg. Of all the sieges he had made, this was the most painful and the most dangerous. The French were obliged to turn the channel of the river of Treissau, and to open a new bed for it of fifteen thousand six hundred feet; but no sooner was this work completed than a dyke broke, and they were obliged to begin again. The besiegers were exposed to the fire of the castle of Freiburg, and obliged at the same time to drain two arms of the river. The bridges erected on the new channel were damaged by the waters, but the French repaired them again by night; the next day they marched up to the covert-way, where the ground was all undermined, and they were exposed to an incessant fire from the enemy. Five hundred grenadiers were killed or wounded; and two whole companies perished by the springing of the mines. This attack was commanded by the marquis de Brun, lieutenant-general, with the duke de Randan, and M. de Courtomer, major-generals, and M. de Berville, brigadier. The duke d'Ayen was there as the king's aide-de-camp; and Count Lowendahl, who would also be at the siege as a volunteer, was wounded in the head with a musket-shot. This foreigner was a native of

Denmark, and had been in the Russian service: it was he who took Ockzakow from the Turks. He spoke almost all the European languages, was perfectly acquainted with the different courts, their genius, the character of the people, and their different methods of fighting; however, he preferred the service of France, where, from his reputation, he was immediately received as lieutenant-general.

The besiegers were not the least discouraged, but carried the greatest part of the covert-way, and the day following they made themselves entirely masters of it, notwithstanding the bombs, patteraroes, and grenades, with which the enemy incessantly annoyed them. There were sixteen engineers at those attacks, who were all wounded: the prince of Soubise had his arm broken by a stone; and as soon as the king heard of it, he visited him several times, and saw his wounds dressed. This sympathy in their sovereign encouraged the troops; there was not one of them but forgot the extreme hardships of the siege, and generously ventured his life. Their ardor was redoubled, when they followed the duke de Chartres, the first prince of the blood, to the trenches and to the attacks. General Damnitz, governor of Freiburg, did not hang out the white flag till November 6, after a siege of two months. Count d'Argenson drew up the articles of capitulation, which facilitated the taking of the citadel of Freiburg. It was stipulated, as a favor granted from the king to General Damnitz, that he should have

leave to retire with his garrison, his sick and wounded, into the citadel. The governor did not perceive, till after he had signed the capitulation, that this permission would prove fatal to him, that the citadel could not hold such a number of men, that they would be crowded upon one another, and more exposed to the enemy's cannon, and, in short, that his sick must inevitably perish: he therefore begged of them not to grant him so dangerous a favor; but the permission had then become an obligation. A suspension of arms was, however, granted for twenty days; at the expiration of which term the citadel was besieged, and taken in seven days. The king used the same policy at Freiburg as at Menin; he demolished the fortifications of the town, neither wanting to keep possession of it, nor to run the hazard of its being retaken some day by the Austrians, and proving a thorn in his side. This was one of those towns which Louis XIV. had taken and fortified, and which he afterward was obliged to surrender. It is true, that, according to the plan so often defeated, Freiburg and Upper Austria were to be given to the Bavarian emperor: but it was then foreseen that he would not keep possession of this country. The king indeed was master of all Breisgau: the prince of Clermont, on his side, was advanced as far as Constance: and the emperor at length had the pleasure of returning to Munich. In Italy affairs had taken a favorable turn, though they advanced but slowly. The prince of Conti

demolished the fortifications of Demont, after he had taken it by storm. The king of Naples was pursuing Prince Lobkowitz through the pope's territories. In Bohemia great matters were expected from the diversion made by the king of Prussia; but they were disappointed; fortune changed sides again, as she had often done during this war, and Prince Charles drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had made the French fly before him in 1742 and 1743. The Prussians committed the very same mistakes, and made the same kind of retreats, as they had reproached the French armies with: they successively evacuated the different posts which led to Prague, and at length they were obliged to evacuate Prague itself.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine within sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year within sight of the king of Prussia. He followed him even into Silesia, and his flying parties advanced as far as the gates of Breslau. At length it became a question, whether the queen, who seemed to be undone in the month of June, would not recover Silesia in the month of December, the same year; and people were afraid that the emperor, who was but just returned to his desolate capital, would be once more obliged to leave it.

CHAPTER XII.

THE KING OF POLAND, ELECTOR OF SAXONY, DECLARES IN FAVOR OF MARIA THERESA, AGAINST WHOM HE HAD JOINED IN THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR —AFFAIRS ARE MORE PERPLEXED THAN EVER IN ITALY — THE KING OF NAPLES SURPRISED AT VELLETRI, IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF ROME.

The Austrians indulged themselves in these hopes from a new change in their affairs, which indeed was not one of the least revolutions in the whole war; namely, the step then taken by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. This same prince, who at first had joined the king of Prussia against the queen of Hungary, was then entering into an alliance with this princess against Prussia, and had already furnished her with about twenty thousand men. In pursuing this measure he did not intend to declare war against King Frederick, but only to assist the queen, just as the states-general had joined with her against France, without declaring war. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great interest in making the queen of Hungary and the new house of Austria more powerful; nay, it seemed strange that he should choose rather to aggrandize that house, than to raise himself on its ruins; but a particular pique between him and the king of Prussia, the powerful negotiations of England, the apprehension of the rising grandeur of

the house of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dresden.

The king of Prussia had scarcely set his hand to his treaty in April, 1744, with France and the emperor, when the king of Poland signed his agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May: he promised to assist her with thirty thousand men, and the queen yielded to him a part of Silesia, which she hoped to be able to recover, and to which that prince pretended some ancient rights, as all the German princes have some pretensions or other to the territories of their neighbors. England paid him a subsidy of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling every year, so long as he continued to defend the queen of Hungary. If it was a matter of surprise, that a king of Poland and elector of Saxony should be reduced to accept this money, it was a much greater surprise that England should be able to give it, when she had granted this very year five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary, two hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia, and at the same time she paid a subsidy of twenty-two thousand pounds to the elector of Cologne, for permitting the enemies of the emperor, his brother, to raise troops against him in the territories of Cologne, Münster, and Osnabrück; to such a low pitch was this unfortunate emperor reduced! The passage of Prince Charles had struck the borders of the Rhine with terror and

amazement; and the English gold did the rest. At this juncture the Austrians, assisted by their new allies, the Saxons, menaced Silesia: they likewise threatened French Flanders with English and Dutch assistance.

The allied army in Flanders exceeded that which the king left under the command of Marshal Saxe by twenty thousand men. This general employed all those resources of war which are entirely independent of fortune, and even of the bravery of troops. To encamp and decamp at proper opportunities; to cover our own country; to maintain an army at the enemy's expense; to remove to their ground when they advance into yours, and thereby to oblige them to march back; in short, to baffle superior strength by skill; this is what is looked upon as one of the masterpieces of military art; and this Marshal Saxe did from the beginning of August till the month of November.

The quarrel about the Austrian succession was every day growing more obstinate, the emperor's fate more uncertain, the respective interests more complicated, while the successes of each party were generally counterpoised by those of the opposite side.

France had on her side in Germany, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the elector palatine, by the Treaty of Frankfort: but the Prussians were then busy in defending themselves. Hesse was always ready to sell troops to

England, as well as France. The Palatinate was a country that rather wanted protection than was capable of giving assistance; and, besides, a great part of its territories had been pillaged by the enemy. Thus Austria was still the predominant power in Germany, especially having the assistance of Saxony and of the Dutch, with the troops and subsidies of Great Britain. The rest of the empire still neutral, though a great part were well affected to the house of Austria, in all their memorials complained of this civil war which laid waste their country.

The truth is, that the calamities which follow war had ruined a great many; yet, on the other hand, it is no less true, that this war really enriched Germany, while it seemed in appearance to ruin it. The French and English money, which was scattered among them with such profusion, remained in the hands of the Germans: Frankfort especially, so long the residence of the imperial court, of such a number of ministers, princes, and generals, had made immense profits; Dresden, which had furnished provisions a long time to the French and Austrian armies in their turn, had thereby enriched itself; and, upon the whole, this war had rendered Germany more opulent, and consequently must, sooner or later, render it more powerful. It was not so in regard to Italy, which, moreover, cannot form, for any considerable time, a powerful body like Germany. France had not sent to the Alps more than forty-two battalions and thirty-three squadrons,

which, considering the ordinary deficiency in the troops, did not compose above a body of twenty-six thousand men. The Infante's army was very near this number at the beginning of the campaign; and both of them, far from enriching a foreign country, drew their whole subsistence from the provinces of France. With regard to the pope's territories, on which Prince Lobkowitz was then encamped with thirty thousand men, they were rather ravaged than made rich. This part of Italy was going to become a bloody scene in this vast military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tiber.

The queen of Hungary's armies were very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples toward the months of March, April, and May, 1744; and, had it not been for the prudent conduct of Count de Gages, they would certainly have done it. This general, finding that his army was weakened, and he could have no recruits from Spain, incorporated Neapolitans into his old regiments, and these new troops grew inured to discipline: at length, by temporizing, he obliged Prince Lobkowitz, who perceived his army also wasting away, to retire from Abruzzo toward Rome.

This city had beheld, since the month of July, an engagement in her neighborhood between the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were at Velletri, anciently the capital of the Volsci, and now the residence of the dean of the sacred college. The king of the two

Sicilies was lodged in the palace of Ginetti, which is considered a structure of magnificence and taste. Prince Lobkowitz made the same attempt upon Velletri, as Prince Eugene had done upon Cremona in 1702; for history is no more than a series of events repeated with some variety. Six thousand Austrians entered Velletri in the middle of the night: the main guard were slain: those who resisted, were cut in pieces; and those who made no resistance, were made prisoners: in short, terror and alarm were spread everywhere. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken; the marquis de L'Hôpital, ambassador from France to the court of Naples, awakes at the noise, runs to the king, and saves him; no sooner had the marquis quitted his house, when it was plundered by the enemy. The king, followed by the duke of Modena and the ambassador, puts himself at the head of his troops without the town; the Austrians break into the houses; General Novati enters the palace of the duke of Modena, where he finds M. Sabatini, that prince's minister, who had been formerly in the same regiment with himself. "Is it not true," said this minister to him, "that you grant me my life, and will content yourself with making me your prisoner?" While they were renewing their former acquaintance, the very same thing happened as at Cremona; the Walloon guards, a regiment of Irish, and another of Swiss, repulsed the Austrians, strewed the streets with dead bodies, and retook the

town. M. Sabatini, seeing this revolution from his window, said to the Austrian general; "'Tis I now that grant you your life, and 'tis you that are my prisoner." A few days after, Prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retreat toward Rome, whither he was pursued by the king of Naples. The former marched toward one gate of the city, and the latter toward the other: they both passed the Tiber within sight of the people of Rome, who from the ramparts enjoyed the spectacle of the two armies. The king was received at Rome under the name of the count of Puzzuolo: his guards stood with their drawn swords in the streets, while their master was kissing the pope's toe. The two armies continued the war in the territory of Rome, whose inhabitants thanked heaven that the ravage extended no farther than their fields.

Upon the whole, we find that Italy was from the beginning the chief aim of the court of Spain; that Germany was the main object of the conduct of the court of France; and that on both sides the success was still extremely dubious.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES VII. — THE WAR BECOMES MORE VIOLENT THAN EVER.

Immediately after the taking of Freiburg, the king returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they

had been afraid of losing. He remained three days in his capital, to show himself to the inhabitants, who wanted no other return for their zeal than the pleasure of beholding him, and this was what he could not in gratitude refuse: he dined in the Hôtel de Ville, whose square was adorned with those magnificent decorations which make us wish for more durable monuments: he was served at table, according to custom, by the provost of the merchants, and the dauphin by the first *Echevin.*

On this occasion, it was observed, that the inscriptions of the Hôtel de Ville, the triumphal arches, and illuminated figures, with which the town was adorned, were in Latin; though, indeed, these interpreters of the people's joy ought to be such as they can understand. In Germany, England, and the North, they pride themselves on making inscriptions and devices in French, which ought to be a hint to our nation to show the same honor to our language as is paid it by foreigners.

The king, on his return from the campaign, had no minister of foreign affairs, having been his own minister in the army. To fill this place, he chose successively two men who had no thoughts of it. The first was M. de Villeneuve, who, during his embassy to the Ottoman Porte, had negotiated a peace between the Turks and the last emperor of the house of Austria: he was old and infirm: he had been always reckoned a wise man; a character which he still maintained by his sensibility of his present con-

dition: having no ambition to deceive himself, or to imagine he had strength above his age, he refused the employment. The second was the marquis d'Argenson, the elder brother of the secretary of war. By this favor the king surprised the two brothers.

The only inducement the king had for giving away the place, which, according to the maxims of common policy in most courts of Europe, seems to require less virtue than cunning, was the character the marquis had of being an honest man. These two ministers were descended from one of the most ancient houses of Touraine, in which the dignities of the long robe have for some years been joined to the ancient honors of the sword. Their father, who had been keeper of the seals, and minister of the finances, was a genius equal either to the command of an army or directing the police of a state; a man of piercing wit, great intrepidity, and unwearied assiduity; one who would unravel the most knotty affairs; a declared enemy to trivial forms, which little minds are so fond of; in short, a man superior to party, fear, or interest. At the time the government wanted money, he paid back a hundred thousand crowns into the royal treasury, which were his right as minister of the finances; and when he acted thus, he was not rich, and had a numerous family. This action, which the king was acquainted with, contributed greatly to the promotion of his sons.

One of the first affairs that came before the minister of state, was an adventure in which there was rather a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of ambassadors, and of the constitutions of the empire, than any exercise of the right of war.

The king, still true to his engagements with the emperor, had sent Marshal Belle-Isle, with full powers from himself and from the emperor, to Munich, and thence to Cassel and Silesia. He was coming from Munich, the imperial residence, with his brother, the chevalier: they had been at Cassel, and were continuing their journey, without any distrust, through a country where the king of Prussia has several post-houses, which, by agreement among the princes of Germany, have been always looked upon as neutral and inviolable. While the marshal and his brother were changing horses at one of those post-houses, in a borough called Elbingrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were arrested and ill used by Hanoverian messengers, and soon after removed to England. The duke de Belle-Isle was a prince of the empire, and in this quality this arrest might have been considered as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times, emperors would have punished such an indignity; but any insult might have been offered to Charles VII.; all he could do, was to complain.

The French ministers laid claim at the same time to the privileges of ambassadors, and to every right

of war. If Marshal Belle-Isle was considered as a prince of the empire, and as a minister of the court of France, going to the imperial and Prussian courts; as those two courts were not at war with Hanover, his person was undoubtedly sacred; if, on the other hand, he was looked upon as a general, and as a marshal of France, the king offered to ransom him and his brother. Pursuant to the cartel settled at Frankfort, June 18, 1743, between France and England, the ransom of a marshal of France was rated at fifty thousand livres. The minister of King George II. eluded these pressing arguments by an evasion, which was a new affront: he declared that he looked upon Messrs. de Belle-Isle as prisoners of state: they were treated with the greatest politeness, according to the maxim of most of the European courts, who soften the iniquity of politics and the cruelty of war by external appearances of humanity.

The emperor Charles VII., despised and disregarded in the empire, having no other support but the king of Prussia, pursued by Prince Charles, and apprehensive lest the queen of Hungary should again compel him to quit his capital, seeing himself the continual sport of fortune, and oppressed by maladies which were increased by his vexations, sank at length under the weight: he died at Munich at the age of forty-seven and a half years, leaving this lesson to the world, that the highest degree of human grandeur may lead to the utmost pitch of

infelicity: he had not been unhappy till after his elevation to the imperial throne; and nature from that time proved even more unkind to him than fortune: a complication of acute disorders filled his days with bitterness, and brought him to the grave. He had both gout and stone: upon opening his body, they found his lungs, his liver, and his stomach mortified, with stones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was concluded, that for some time he must have lived in continual pain.

The body of this unfortunate prince was laid in state, dressed after the old Spanish mode, according to the regulation of Charles V., though there has been never a Spanish emperor since that prince; and Charles VII. had no manner of relation to that nation. He was buried according to the imperial ceremonies; and, with all that parade of vanity and human misery, they carried the globe of the world before him, who, during his short reign, was not even possessed of a small unhappy province. They gave him the title of "Invincible," in the rescripts published by the young elector, his son, a title by custom annexed to the imperial dignity, and which only served to remind the world of the misfortunes of him that possessed it.

His brother, the elector of Cologne, would never defend his cause; not but this elector, who was bishop and prince of Münster, Paderborn, and Osnabrück, might have raised an army; but then to have a good one required great preparations; he must

have laid up money, have had officers regularly trained, and soldiers properly disciplined; but all this he wanted. He had always foreseen that Austria would resume the superiority, which indeed was the reason of his neutrality during this whole war: this occasioned great complaints against him; but the event justified his conduct.

It was then believed that, as the cause of the war no longer existed, peace would be restored to Europe: they could not offer the empire to the son of Charles VII. who was then only seventeen years of age; they flattered themselves in Germany, that the queen of Hungary would seek for peace, as the surest means of, at length, placing her husband, the grand duke, upon the imperial throne: but she would obtain this throne, and also continue the war. The English ministry, who gave the law to their allies, because they gave them money, supplying, at the same time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought they should be losers by a treaty, and gainers by protracting the war: they had no difficulty in inspiring Maria Theresa with the same confidence, so as to flatter herself that she should be able to beat both France and Prussia. The passage of the Rhine and of the Elbe in one campaign had doubled her courage. The king of France, on the other hand, would not abandon either his son-in-law, the Infante Don Philip, in Italy; or the young elector of

Bavaria, in Germany; or the king of Prussia, who had returned to his old alliance.

This general war continued, because it was begun: the object of it was now no longer the same as in the beginning; it was one of those maladies whose symptoms alter when they grow inveterate. Flanders had been respected as a neutral country before the year 1744, but was now the principal theatre of war; and Germany was considered by France rather as a field of politics than of military operations. The court of France cast an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper person for the imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aspire to this dignity, but he might likewise render it subservient to enriching his family with a part of the Austrian inheritance, which he had at first attempted to acquire by the sword. At least, by detaching him from his new alliance with Austria, there was a probability of giving a greater superiority to the king of Prussia, and of compelling the queen of Hungary to accept terms of peace. But the Saxon minister chose rather to see his master an ally than an enemy of the court of Vienna: the king of Poland might have had the imperial crown, but he would not accept it.

This refusal of the elector of Saxony, which appeared so astonishing to Europe, did not at all surprise those who were acquainted with his court, and with the state of his affairs. They persuaded him that he would find it very difficult to keep the

crown of Poland, if he accepted the empire, and that the republic of Poland would be afraid of having too powerful a chief. They represented to him that he would run the risk of losing a throne, which he might secure to his posterity: and that, after all, he was not sure of carrying his point in competition with the grand duke of Tuscany. The example of the elector of Bavaria had convinced him how difficult it is for a prince who is not himself powerful, to sustain the weight of the imperial crown; and that a grandeur, not founded on its own strength, is oftentimes rather a humiliation. In short, this prince, whether he was not strong enough, or whether he was restrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dresden, and Warsaw, which had connected him with the queen of Hungary and with England, instead of pretending to the empire, entered into a more intimate union with the queen, in order to place the imperial crown on her husband's head, and to give everything to those to whom at first he would have granted nothing.

France had therefore no other resource left than that of arms, and patiently to expect her fate, together with the decision of so many different interests, which had so often changed, and whose different mutations had kept Europe in continual alarm.

Maximilian Joseph, the young elector of Bavaria, was the third from father to son whose rights had been maintained by France: they had restored his

grandfather to his dominions, obtained the imperial crown for his father, and now made a fresh effort to support this young prince. Six thousand Hessians in French pay, three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, which had been a long time in the French service, had joined the Bavarian forces which were still maintained by the king. To render these aids effectual, the Bavarians should have done their best to defend themselves: but it was their fate to be always beaten by the Austrians. They defended the entrance of their country so very ill, that in the beginning of April, the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit that same capital from which his father had been so often expelled.

This country had been ravaged to such a degree that it was not able to supply forage to the French troops who were coming to the elector's assistance. The Hessians were mercenaries, who, though they would accept of French money, did not care to fight. On April 10, General Braun declared to Count Ségur, commander-in-chief of the French troops in Bavaria, that he would not go to meet the enemy, and that all he could do was to wait for them. M. de Ségur found himself deserted by the very people he had come to assist; and he could not rely on the Hessians, who had shown such backwardness.

To complete the disgrace of the French, Count Seckendorff, who still commanded the Bavarian army, corresponded with Austria, and was negotiat-

ing a secret arrangement, whereby he surrendered the house of Bavaria to the discretion of the queen of Hungary, and defeated everything that had been done by France. One of the motives of this general's discontent, was that the French had lately refused him twenty-four thousand German florins, which he still demanded, notwithstanding the immense sums the king had remitted him for the payment of the Bavarian troops. He had even taken the plate of the emperor Charles VII. in pledge, at the time that he commanded his army; and after he returned it to the electoral family, he complained that they did not pay him the remainder of a sum of money which was still due. Everybody knows that this man, after having been long in the service of the house of Austria, was confined by the last emperor of that family; and that upon the death of that prince he quitted the queen of Hungary for the house of Bavaria; now human nature is so constituted, that those who often change masters are seldom heartily attached to any party. On March 24, he wrote to Marshal Thoring, a Bavarian general, these words: "The happy success with which they flatter themselves upon the Rhine will not save Bavaria; this country must be doomed to utter destruction, if means be not found of saving it by some kind of accommodation, cost what it will."

The count de Ségur and M. de Chavigny, the king's plenipotentiaries in Bavaria, were but too well informed of his secret designs; they plainly

perceived from the motions of the Bavarian army, that the king's troops were to be left exposed in a country where the very inhabitants, whom they had defended during the space of four years, had become enemies.

Things being thus unhappily situated, Count Ségur, who had only six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, French and Palatines, was attacked by an army of twenty thousand Austrians, within a few leagues of Donauwörth, near a little town called Pfaffenhofen. All he had to do in this situation was to save the king's troops, and the military chest; for this end he posted his men so well, by covering them in a wood, and gaining an eminence, that they maintained a most unequal and most obstinate fight, without being thrown into disorder. The French alone lost about two thousand men, killed and wounded: the Palatines, who were less exposed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions were made prisoners of war. The marquis de Rupelmonde, major-general of the French forces, kept the enemy in play a long time in the rear, but was killed at length with a musket-ball on the field of battle. He had only his aide-de-camp near him when he received the wound. "Let me die," said he; "run and tell M. de Ségur to take good care of the rear." We cannot too much lament the death of this young man, who, besides every military talent, was possessed of a philosophic turn of mind, and of other agreeable qualities which rendered his com-

pany infinitely valuable to his friends. He was the only heir of a family long distinguished in Flanders; the hope and consolation of a mother, who for many years had been the darling of the court of France, and who now only lived for this son. The marquis de Crussol, who was entrusted with the command of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with such prudence and intrepidity, that the enemy could not refuse them their commendations, and were rewarded by the prince. This little army retired to Donauwörth in good order, without being ever broken; and killed a great many more of the enemy than they themselves had lost.

All this time the young elector of Bavaria was at Augsburg. Had his council agreed to have joined his troops to those which were only fighting his battles, he might still have kept the balance even. The king was defending his cause on all sides: Marshal Maillebois, at the head of a hundred and one battalions, and sixty-two squadrons, with ten independent companies, was driving an Austrian army, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the River Lahn, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover: the king of Prussia kept Prince Charles employed; in short, the king of France himself was upon the point of making a most powerful diversion in Flanders. But all these considerations were superseded by Count Seckendorff's party; they prevailed on the young elector to sign preliminaries, by which he made himself dependent on

Austria; while the queen of Hungary was left in possession of his strongest towns, Ingolstadt, Scharding, and Branau, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty: he likewise promised his vote at the first diet of election to the grand duke, and thereby placed over his own head the very person whom the present juncture had rendered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Bavaria. The six thousand Hessians who were in this army declared themselves neutral; but notwithstanding their neutrality, they were disarmed at Augsburg, after which they passed from French into English pay. The Palatines were soon obliged to embrace a neutrality. This revolution, so lucky to the queen of Hungary, did this service at least to France, that it saved her the men and the treasure of which she had been so lavish in favor of the house of Bavaria, and freed her from the burden of mercenary troops, which generally cost a great deal more than their service is worth. The young elector's council might excuse this treaty by the experience of past, and the apprehension of future, misfortunes; but how could they justify a secret article by which the elector engaged to lend troops to the queen of Hungary, and, like the rest, to receive English pay? Little did the king of France expect, when he put the elector Charles Albert on the imperial throne, that in two years' time the Bavarians would serve among his enemy's troops.

While the king lost one ally, who was only a

burden to him, he still preserved another, who was of infinite use. The king of Prussia was the terror of the Austrians; Prince Charles could hardly face him in the field.

The resolution taken by Louis XV. was to act on the defensive in Germany, and on the offensive in Flanders and Italy: and thereby he answered every purpose. His army on the Rhine employed the Austrians, and prevented them from falling upon his ally, the king of Prussia, with too great a superiority of forces. He had already sent Marshal Maillebois from Germany into Italy; and the prince of Conti was entrusted with the management of the war on the Rhine, a war of quite a different nature from that which he had conducted in the Alps.

The king undertook to finish the conquests in person, which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had just married the dauphin to the second infanta of Spain, in the month of February; and this young prince, who had not yet completed his sixteenth year, prepared to set out in the beginning of May along with his father.

Before the king's departure, Marshal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to consist of a hundred and six battalions and a hundred and seventy-two squadrons complete, with seventeen independent companies.

LOUIS XV

CHAPTER XIV.

SIEGE OF TOURNAY — BATTLE OF FONTENOY.

MARSHAL SAXE having made several marches, which kept the enemy in suspense, and seemed sometimes to threaten Aeth, and sometimes Mons, all of a sudden sat down before Tournay, and invested it on April 25; while the allied army of the English, Austrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch was not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the strongest place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's masterpieces; for there was not a place of any strength in Flanders, whose fortifications had not been built by Louis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not so much because their town is part of the ancient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage: they preferred the French magnificence, which enriches a country, to the Dutch economy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is seldom regarded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of those places: they are transferred from one sovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them, without asking their advice.

In the beginning of the siege of Tournay happened one of those events, in which the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared, as it were, in the most conspicuous characters. The

count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron: here a cavalier was erected, near which they had placed a cask of gunpowder. In the night the duke de Biron laid himself down upon a bearskin near M. de Talleyrand, when he recollected that he had promised to spend part of the night with M. de Meuze: he resolved to go, notwithstanding that M. de Talleyrand did all he could to dissuade him. No sooner was he gone, than a soldier trying the prime of his weapon, a spark dropped upon the cask of gunpowder, and instantly the cavalier flew up into the air, carrying with it M. de Talleyrand, with twenty-four soldiers, whose mangled limbs were dispersed on every side: part of the body of M. de Talleyrand was thrown more than one hundred and eighty feet. But an accident of this kind, though never so fatal, is confounded in time of war in the multitude of human calamities, which, from our being too much surrounded by them, escape our attention. The garrison of Tournay, beholding this unlucky accident, insulted the French, reviling them with the most injurious language; upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, answered them, not by opprobrious speeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finished: they descend without order, without preparation, or even without

officers, upon the covert-way, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy's artillery and their small shot, and maintain themselves boldly till the round came by, though exposed on every side. The duke de Biron, who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation and the ardor of the troops rendered in some measure excusable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulements, and lodges those brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had so resolutely carried.

As soon as the states-general were informed that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the commander of the troops that he must venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithstanding the circumspection of those republicans, they were the first of the allies at that time who took vigorous resolutions.

On May 5 the enemy advanced to Cambon, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out from Paris the next day, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aides-de-camp, and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been so near losing the king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon seeing both the father and the son set out for Flanders, to expose themselves to the uncertain issue of a battle. The French had made no intrenchments as yet before Tournay in the lines of circumvallation: they had no army of observation; nor had the twenty battalions and forty

squadrons, which had been drafted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But notwithstanding the uneasiness they were under at Paris, it must be allowed that the king's army was considerably superior to that of the allies. In several printed relations, it is said to have been weaker. Historical exactness obliges me to acknowledge that it was stronger by sixty battalions and eighty-two squadrons; for the French had a hundred and six battalions, reckoning the militia, and a hundred and seventy-two squadrons; whereas the allies had only forty-six battalions and ninety squadrons.

True it is, that on the day of the engagement the French did not avail themselves entirely of this advantage. Part of the troops had not yet arrived; there was also a necessity for leaving some to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but still the superiority of numbers was certainly on the side of France. And it is not less true that this advantage was not of any consequence in so confined a ground as that of the field of battle; besides, it happens very seldom that victory is owing to numbers. The chief strength of the enemy's army consisted in twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of English, under the young duke of Cumberland, who, in company with the king, his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince

of Waldeck, of about the same age as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardor, and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty-six battalions. In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons; the allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treasure of England and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians was old General Königseck, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended that his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardor of the duke of Cumberland, and of Prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upward of fifty thousand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle, besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheldt, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general in whom they had the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace; besides a profound theory, he had great practical knowledge; in short, vigilance, secrecy, the art of knowing properly when to postpone, and when to execute a project, to see things at one glance, presence of mind, and foresight were abilities allowed him by the consent of all military people. But at that time this general was wasting away with

a lingering disorder. The author of these memoirs, happening to meet him before he set out for Flanders, could not forbear asking him how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition. The marshal answered: "It is not time now to think of living, but of departing."

On May 6, the king arrived at Douay: just as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marshal, who informed him that the enemy's army was approaching, and that they would be quickly in sight of each other. "Gentlemen," said the king to his aides-de-camp and to his officers, "there shall be no time lost; I set out to-morrow morning at five o'clock; but do not disturb the dauphin."

The next day the king arrived at Pont-a-Chin, near the Scheldt, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been apprised, was there in time, and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground designed for the field of battle. The whole army, upon seeing the king and the dauphin, made the air resound with acclamations of joy. The enemy spent the 10th and the night of the 11th in making their last dispositions. Never did the king express greater cheerfulness than on the evening before the engagement. The conversation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been present: the king said that, since the battle of Poitiers, there had not been any king of France who had his son with him in an engagement; that none of them had ever gained a

signal victory over the English; and he hoped to be the first.

The day the battle was fought, he awoke first; at four o'clock he awakened Count d'Argenson, secretary of war, who that very instant sent to Marshal Saxe to know his last orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted that he could no longer ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne. The marshal told the officer sent by Count d'Argenson that the king's guards must come forward, for he had fixed their post in the reserve with the carbineers, as a sure resource. This was a new method of posting troops, whom the enemy consider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards should not be ordered to advance, till the king and the dauphin had repassed the bridge. The marshal, as a foreigner, was very sensible how much less it became him than any other general, to expose two such precious lives to the uncertain issue of a battle. The officer to whom he had made these answers was loath to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprised of the marshal's directions, said, "Let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repass the bridge." Soon after he went and took post beyond the place called "The Justice of Our Lady in the Wood." For his guard he would have only a squadron of a hundred and twenty men of the company of Charôt, one

gendarme, a light horseman, and a musketeer. Marshal de Noailles kept near his majesty, as did also the count d'Argenson; the aides-de-camp were the same as the preceding year. The duke de Villeroi was also about his person, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his attendants near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees to behold the spectacle of a bloody engagement.

The assistance of engraving is absolutely necessary to a person who desires to form a clear and distinct image of this action. The ancients, who were strangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the situation and motion of their armies; but to have an adequate knowledge of such a day, requires researches still more difficult. No one officer can see everything; a great many behold with eyes of prepossession, and there are some that are very short-sighted. There is a good deal in having consulted the papers of the war-office, and especially in getting instruction from the generals and the aides-de-camp; but it is requisite, moreover, to speak to the commanding officers of the different corps, and to compare their statements, in order to mention only those facts in which they agree.

All these precautions I have taken for obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of

which even the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation. Casting an eye upon the plan, you may perceive at one glance the disposition of the two armies. You will see Antoin near the Scheldt, within fifty-four hundred feet of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dauphin came. The village of Fontenoy is within forty-eight hundred feet of Antoin; thence, drawing toward the north, is a piece of ground twenty-seven hundred feet broad, between the woods of Barri and of Fontenoy. In this plan you see the dispositions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them, with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheldt and Antoin, between Antoin and Fontenoy, in those villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which separates Fontenoy from the woods of Barri, and finally on the left toward Remecroix, where the enemy might advance by making the compass of the woods.

The general had made dispositions for a victory and a defeat. The bridge of Calonne lined with cannon, strengthened with intrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiss, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin, in case of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off at the same time over the other bridges on the lower Scheldt in the neighborhood of Tournay.

Notwithstanding all these measures, so well concerted as to support each other without the least

clashing, there happened one mistake, which, had it not been rectified, might have occasioned the loss of the day. The evening preceding the battle, the general was told that there was a hollow way, deep and impassable, which extended, without discontinuance, from Antoin to Fontenoy, and would secure the army on that side. Weak as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hollow way himself; and they assured him that the remainder was still more inaccessible. He made his dispositions accordingly; but this ground, which was very deep near Fontenoy and Antoin, was quite level between those two villages. This circumstance, so trivial in other cases, was here of the utmost consequence; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marshal having been better informed by the quartermaster, M. de Cremille, caused three redoubts to be hastily erected in this same spot between the villages. Marshal de Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoy to the first redoubt by a redan of earth; the three redoubts were furnished with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four; they were called the redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiss regiment of Bettens, with that of Diesbach. Beside these precautions, they had also planted six sixteen-pounders on this side of the Scheldt, to gall the troops that should attack the village of Antoin.

We must particularly observe that there was a piece of ground of about two thousand seven hun-

dred feet, which had a gentle ascent between the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect at the verge of the woods of Barri, a strong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrasures; here the marquis de Chambonas commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with those which were planted to the left side of Fontenoy, formed a cross-fire sufficient, one would imagine, to stop the efforts of the most intrepid enemy.

Had the English attempted to pass through the wood of Barri, they would have met with another redoubt furnished with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had intrenchments to force, and must have been exposed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did Marshal Saxe make the most advantage of the ground on every side.

With respect to the position of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which after the battle was called the bridge of Calonne, there was no one part left naked. The counts de la Marck and de Lorges were entrusted with the post of Antoin; where were six battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments.

The marquis de Crillon was posted with his regiment hard by the redoubt nearest Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to support him.

The village of Fontenoy was committed to the

care of the count de la Vauguion, who had under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul, with the regiment of Dauphiny, of which this young man, who is since dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, close to the village of Fontenoy. On his left was the viscount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Nearly on the same line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swiss, and the regiment of Courten on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barri.

About twelve hundred feet behind them were fifty-two squadrons of horse: the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Estrées, and the count de Penthièvre were lieutenant-generals of this first line. M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Cheila, and d'Apcher, commanded the second; and between these lines of cavalry, in the morning the general placed the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Soissons, and Royal.

On the left was the Irish brigade, under the command of Lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Farther on was the regiment of Vaisseaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was then colonel: between these brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnere, and the prince de Pons, of the house of Lorraine, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal-Roussillon.

The king's household and the carbineers were in the corps of reserve. This was a new method prac-

tised by Marshal Saxe, and recommended by the chevalier Folard, to secrete from the enemy's view those troops which are most famed for bravery, against whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

These dispositions being all made, or upon the point of being made, they waited in silence for the break of day. At four in the morning Marshal Saxe, attended by his aides-de-camp, and by the principal officers, went to visit all the posts. The Dutch, who were already forming, kept continually firing at these officers; which the marshal perceiving, said, "Gentlemen, there will be use for your lives to-day:" he made them dismount, and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which we have already made mention. The fatigue exhausted his strength and increased his illness; finding himself growing weaker, he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he rested for some little time. At break of day Count d'Argenson went to see whether the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field-pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only sixty. Here the presence and directions of the minister were necessary: he gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting; but in the tumult and hurry, almost unavoidable on such an occasion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which such artillery required. The field-pieces were four-pounders, and

drawn by soldiers; the cannon in the villages and redoubts, as also those planted on this side the Scheldt against the Dutch, were from four to sixteeen pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance were distributed in Antoin, Fontenoy, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery.

The enemy had eighty-one cannon, and eight mortars. Their field-pieces were three-pounders; they were what we used formerly to call *fauconets;* their length is about four feet and a half, their ordinary charge is two pounds of powder, and they carry fifteen hundred feet at full shot. There were some that carried balls only of a pound and a half. The cannonading began on both sides: Marshal Saxe told marshal de Noailles, that here the enemy would stop: he supposed them to have formed a deeper design than they really had, imagining they would do just what he would have done in their place, that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm; by which means they might retard, and perhaps absolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were posted in such a manner that they could not be attacked with advantage; while at the same time they had it in their power constantly to harass the besieging army. This was the opinion of General Königseck: but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great, to listen to advice. At the time they began to cannonade, Marshal de

Noailles was near to Fontenoy, and gave an account to Marshal Saxe of the work he had done in the beginning of the night, in causing the village of Fontenoy to be joined to the first of the three redoubts between that village and Antoin: he acted here as M. de Saxe's first aide-de-camp, thus sacrificing the jealousy of command to the good of the state, and forgetting his own rank to yield the precedence to a general who was not only a foreigner, but younger in commission than himself. Marshal Saxe was perfectly sensible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there such perfect harmony between two men, who from the ordinary weakness of the human heart should naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Grammont came up, when Marshal de Noailles said to him, "Nephew, we should embrace one another on the day of battle; perhaps we shall not see one another again." Accordingly they embraced one another most tenderly; and then Marshal de Noailles went to give his majesty an account of the several posts which he had visited.

The duke of Grammont met Count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a short distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barri, opposite an English battery; here a three-pound cannon-ball struck the duke of Grammont's horse, and covered Count Lowendahl with blood; a piece of flesh which flew off with the shot fell into his boot: "Have a care," says he to the duke of Grammont, "your horse

is killed." "And I myself," answered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was shattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road to Fontenoy, he was dead. The surgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern: "Ah! we shall lose a great many more to-day."

The cannonading continued on both sides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's seeming to have formed any settled plan. Toward seven, the English encompassed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoy, and attacked it on every side. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell just before Marshal Saxe, who was then speaking to Count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterward advanced toward Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well supported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoy, with the young count de Meuze under him, constantly repulsed the English. He had made intrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphiny not to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed; for the soldiers did not fire till they were almost muzzle to muzzle, and sure of their mark; at each discharge they made the air resound with *"Vive le Roi."* The count de la Marck, with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horse and foot. The marquis de Chambonas also repulsed the enemy in the several attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The Eng-

lish presented themselves thrice before Fontenoy, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their second attack almost a whole Dutch squadron was swept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from that time the Dutch continued to act but very faintly, and at a distance.

The king was at that time with the dauphin, near "The Justice of Our Lady in the Wood," against which the English played very briskly with their cannon. Even the small musket-shot reached thus far, a domestic of Count d'Argenson being wounded on the forehead by a musket-ball, a good distance behind the king.

From this position, which was equally distant from the several corps, the king observed everything with great attention. He was the first who perceived that as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoy, and seemed to bend their whole strength on that side, it would be of no use to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Touraine toward Ramecroix: he therefore caused Normandy to advance near the Irish, and put Auvergne and Touraine farther behind. But he did not change this disposition till he had asked the marshal's advice, entirely solicitous about the success of the day, never presuming on his own opinion, and declaring that he was come to the army only for his own, and for his son's instruction.

Then he advanced toward the side of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward

to make their second attack: the cannon-balls fell round him and the dauphin; and an officer named M. d'Arbaud, afterward colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gayety even in the midst of danger: the king and those about him, finding themselves daubed with the dirt thrown up by this shot, laughed; the king made them pick up the balls, and said to M. de Chabrier, major of artillery, "Send these balls back to the enemy; I will have nothing belonging to them." He afterward returned to his former post, and with surprise observed, that most of the balls that were then fired toward the woods of Barri, from the English battery, fell upon the regiment of Royal-Roussillon, which did not make the least movement, whereby he could form any conclusion either as to its danger or its losses.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what Marshal Saxe had foreseen. They kept firing, without results, upon the villages and the redoubts. Toward ten the duke of Cumberland took the resolution of forcing his way between the redoubt of the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt, and on the other side of the hollow way he had the French army to fight. The enterprise seemed temerarious. The duke took this resolution only because an officer, whose name was Ingoldsby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of Eu, did not execute his orders. Had he

made himself master of that redoubt he might have easily, and without loss, brought his whole army forward, protected by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned against the French. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the English advanced through the hollow way. They passed it almost without disordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the byways; they formed in three close lines, each four deep, advancing between the batteries of cannon, which galled them most terribly, the ground not above twenty-four hundred feet in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were instantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up against Fontenoy and the redoubts, answered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by six field-pieces, with six more in the middle of their lines.

Opposite them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and farther on, the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoy the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were posted, to where the English were forming, was rising ground.

The officers of the French guards said to one another: "We must go and take the English cannon." Accordingly they ascended to the top with

their grenadiers; but when they got there, how great was their surprise to find a whole army before them! The enemy's cannon and small shot brought very nearly sixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were forced to return to their ranks.

In the meantime the English advanced, and this line of infantry, composed of the French and Swiss guards, and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king, drew near the enemy: the regiment of English guards was at the distance of fifty paces; Campbell's and the Royal Scotch were the first; Mr. Campbell was their lieutenant-general; Lord Albemarle their major-general; and Mr. Churchill, a natural son of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadier. The English officers saluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced and returned the compliment. Lord Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire."

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant, and since captain of grenadiers, answered with a loud voice: "Gentlemen, we never fire first; do you begin." Then Lord Charles, turning about to his men, gave the word of command, in English, to fire! The English made a running fire; that is, they fired in platoons: when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its discharge, and then a third, while the first were loading again. The line

of French infantry did not fire; it was single, and four deep, the ranks pretty distant, and not at all supported by any other body of infantry; they must have been surprised at the depth of the English corps, and their ears stunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this first discharge; Messrs. de Clisson, de Langey, and de la Peyrere lost their lives; ninety-five soldiers were killed on the spot; two hundred and eighty-five were wounded; eleven Swiss officers were wounded, as also one hundred and forty-five of their common men; and sixty-four were killed; Colonel de Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers dropped down dead; fourteen officers, and two hundred soldiers were dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus swept away, the other three looked behind them, and seeing only some cavalry at the distance of above eighteen hundred feet, they dispersed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant-general, whose presence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, did not come up till they were routed. The English, in the meantime, advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exercise: one might see the majors holding their canes upon the soldiers' muskets, to make them fire low and straight!

Thus the English pierced beyond Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines, being now crowded by the nature

of the ground, became a long solid column, unshaken from its weight, and still more so from its courage. It advanced toward the regiment of Aubeterre: at the news of this danger M. de Luttaux made all haste from Fontenoy, where he had been dangerously wounded. His aide-de-camp begged of him to stay to have his wound dressed. "The king's service," answered M. de Luttaux, "is dearer to me than my life." He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, led by the colonel of that name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds; at the same discharge M. de Biron had a horse killed under him; a hundred soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, stops the march of the column on its left flank; upon which the regiment of English guards, detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces toward him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen others, and twelve lieutenants; at the same time two hundred and sixty-six soldiers were killed, and seventy-nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself to the English column; but its colonel, the duke d'Havré, the lieutenant-colonel, all the staff-officers, and in short, thirty-seven officers are wounded so as to be obliged to quit the field; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, entirely overthrown.

The regiment of Soissonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost a hundred and thirty soldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, lost more than any other corps at these discharges: six of its officers, one hundred and thirty-six soldiers were killed; thirty-two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers, were wounded.

It was probable that the English, who were advancing toward the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoy in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in the hollow way which lined Fontenoy, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk charge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubeterre, intrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded. In the meantime two battalions of French and Swiss guards were filing off, by different roads, across the lines of cavalry, which were above twelve hundred feet behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Luttaux, first lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, between Antoin and Fontenoy. "Ah, gentlemen," said he, "do not rally me; I am wounded, and obliged to retire." He died, some time after, in unspeakable torment; before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment of

guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne." Others hurried through a little bottom, which goes from Barri to "Our Lady in the Wood," up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite the wood of Barri, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes toward the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command, because, though young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

The English column kept firm and close, and was continually gaining ground. Marshal Saxe, with all the coolness imaginable, seeing how dubious the affair was, sent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repass the bridge along with the dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the disorder. "Oh! I am very sure he will do what is proper," answered the king; "but I will stay where I am." This prince was every moment sending his aides-de-camp from brigade to brigade, and from post to post. Each set out with two pages of the stables, whom he sent back successively to the king, and afterward returned to give an account himself. The order of battle was no longer the same it had been in the beginning: of the first line of cavalry not above half was left. The division of Count d'Estrées was near Antoin,

under the duke d'Harcourt, making head with its dragoons and with Crillon against the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that side, while the English on the other were beginning to be victorious: the other half of this first line, which was naturally the duke d'Harcourt's division, remained under the command of Count d'Estrées. This line vigorously attacked the English. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name; but little did the efforts of this cavalry avail against a solid body of infantry, so compact, so well disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, regularly supported, must of course disperse all those small detached bodies, which successively presented themselves: besides, it is a known thing that cavalry alone can seldom make any impression upon a close and compact infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire: his illness not permitting him to wear a cuirass, he had a kind of buckler made of several folds of stitched taffeta, which he carried on his saddle-bow: he put on his buckler, and rode up with full speed to give directions for the second line of cavalry to advance against the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, composed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldest of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the first marshal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expense. The regiment

belonging to the duke de Penthièvre made also a part of this brigade. Count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignecourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy descendant of a family which has given three grand masters to the order of Malta, rushes with his squadron to attack this column in flank; but the squadron was cut in pieces in the midst of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers, who forced their way through with M. de Vignecourt. An English soldier drove his bayonet with such violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fusil: the horse, having received several wounds, ran away with his master; while the butt-end of the musket, trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers, who had broken through the column, six remained, who were soon made prisoners; but the English sent them back the next day, out of regard to their bravery.

Count d'Argenson, son of the secretary of war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berri, at the same time that the regiment of Fienne was also advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a single squadron; and, upon a false report, his father thought him killed. The count de Broinne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabrillant headed and rallied their troops; but all these corps were repulsed one after the other. The

count de Clermont-Tonnere, maître-de-camp of the cavalry, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croissi were everywhere: all the general officers were continually riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel-general, and Fienne, with the Croats, suffered greatly; that of Prince Clermont was still more roughly handled, twenty-two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve. All the staff-officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puisegur, Messrs. de Saint Sauveur, de Saint Georges, de Mézières, aid-quartermasters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, received a wound, of which he died a few days after. It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant-general—whose name is pronounced d'Aché—had his foot shattered by a ball. Toward the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and spoke a long while to his majesty without expressing the least sign of pain, till at length the violence of the anguish compelled him to retire.

The more the English column advanced the deeper it became, and of course the better able to repair the continual losses which it must have sustained from so many repeated attacks. It still marched on, close and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both sides, seeming to form one

single corps of about sixteen thousand men, though it was then in three divisions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in disorder as far as the place where the king was posted with his son; so that these two princes were separated by the crowd that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change color; he was concerned, but showed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to observe about two hundred troopers scattered behind him toward "Our Lady of the Wood," he said to a light horseman, "Go and rally those men in my name, and bring them back." The light horseman galloped, and led them back against the enemy. This man, whose name was de Jouy, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the minister inquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this disorder the brigades of the life guards, who were in reserve, advanced themselves against the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de Saumery were mortally wounded. Four squadrons of gendarmes arrived at this very instant from Douay, and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy: but all these corps were received like the rest, with the same intrepidity, and the same running fire. The young count de Chevrier, a guidon, was killed; and it happened to be the very same day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, son of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced through. M. de

Guesclin received a wound in the foot. The carbineers charged the enemy; but had six officers killed, and twenty-one wounded. All these attacks were made without any preparation or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which the greatest bravery can avail nothing against discipline and order.

Marshal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, continued still on horseback, riding gently in the midst of the fire: he passed close under the front of the English column, to observe everything that passed toward the left, near the wood of Barri. There they were going on in the very same manner as toward the right; endeavoring, but in vain, to throw the column into disorder. The French regiments presented themselves one after the other; while the English, facing about on every side, properly disposing their cannon, and always firing in divisions, kept up this running and constant fire when they were attacked; after the attack they remained immovable, and ceased to fire. The marshal perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never stirred, asked what corps that was; they told him, it was the regiment de Vaisseaux, commanded by M. de Guerchi; he then cried out: "Admirable indeed!" Thirty-two officers of this regiment were wounded, and one-third of the soldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not suffer less: their col-

onel was son of the prince de Craon, governor of Tuscany; the father served in the enemy's army, and his sons in the king's. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop; near him the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wounded; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerously, and two hundred and sixty soldiers lay dead upon the spot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced; but they had as many officers and soldiers wounded as that of Hainault: they were headed by their lieutenant-colonel, M. de Solenci, whose bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterward rewarded by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions fell next upon the flank of this column: Colonel Dillon was killed, fifty-six officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the spot.

Marshal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to observe whether Fontenoy still held out; there he found that they had no more ball, so that they answered the enemy's shot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. de Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery, and several other officers of the ordnance were killed. The marshal then desired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beseech his majesty to remove farther off; at the same time he sent orders to the count de la Marck, who

defended Antoin, to quit that post with the regiment of Piedmont. The battle seemed to be past all hope; they were bringing back their field-pieces from every side, and were just upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoy, though a supply of ball was come; they had even begun to send off the train. Marshal Saxe's intention was now to make his last effort against the English column. This enormous mass of infantry had suffered much, though it still seemed to be of the same depth: the soldiers were surprised to find themselves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unshaken; their countenance was bold and undaunted, and they seemed masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Bartens, and acted vigorously in conjunction with the English, the battle would have been lost beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability, for the the king and his son. The success of a last attack was dubious. Marshal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an entire defeat, depended on this attempt, thought of preparing a safe retreat, at the same time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory. He sent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, and to move toward the bridge of Calonne, in order to favor this retreat in case of a last disappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who saw the Dutch ready to take possession of Antoin

the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery against his own army. The marshal sent a second order by his aide-de-camp, M. Dailvorde; it was directed to the count de Lorges, who was made answerable for the execution of it; so that he was obliged to obey. At that time they despaired of the success of the day; but the greatest events depend on the most trivial circumstances, on a mistake, on some unexpected stroke.

Those who were near the king must have imagined the battle was lost, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoy, that most of those who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they also wanted ball at the post of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Those who were near the duke of Cumberland must have likewise had a bad opinion of the day, because they still imagined themselves exposed to the cross-fire of Fontenoy and of the redoubt of Barri. They were ignorant that the French were firing only with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antoin, did not advance; the English horse, which might have completed the disorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the English column, did not appear; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoy or to the redoubt, the fire of which still seemed uniform. Here it will be asked, why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning,

since he might have turned the cannon that was there against the French army, which would have secured him the victory. This is the very thing he had endeavored to effect. At eight o'clock in the morning, he ordered Brigadier Ingoldsby to enter the woods of Barri with four regiments, in order to make himself master of that post. The brigadier obeyed; but perceiving the artillery pointed against him, and several battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon. General Campbell promised him some, but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt, and the cannon was not ready soon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing so much as losing time, had taken the resolution of passing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprise, which one would imagine must have proved fatal to him, had hitherto succeeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of a council around the king, who was pressed by the general, and in the name of France, not to expose his person any longer. At this very instant arrived the duke de Richelieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who served as aide-de-camp to the king: he was come from reconnoitring the column and Fontenoy; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaisseaux, and with the life guards; he had also made M. Bellet advance with the gendarmes under his command, and these had stopped the column, which

now no longer advanced. Having thus ridden about and fought on every side without being wounded, he presents himself quite out of breath, with his sword in his hand, and all covered with dust. "Well, Resce," said Marshal de Noailles to him—this was a familiar expression used by the marshal — "what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion?" "My news," says the duke de Richelieu, "is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is, that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear against the front of the column: while this artillery throws it into disorder, the king's household and his other troops will surround it. We must fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours." "But, Fontenoy," said they, "is pressed by the enemy." "I come thence," said the duke; "it holds out still." "We must see," replied they, "whether the marshal has not designed this cannon for some other use." He answered them, "There is no other to make of it." He was convinced himself, and he persuaded the rest. The king was the first who approved of this important proposal, and everybody else joined in the opinion. He gave orders to bring up four pieces of cannon immediately: twenty messengers rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Touraine, whose name was Issards, aged twenty-one, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back; he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the cross of St. Louis.

The king ordered the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of duke de Chaulnes, to go and see those four pieces pointed: "They were designed," they said, "to cover the retreat." "We shall make no retreat," said the duke de Chaulnes; "the king commands that these four pieces shall give us the victory." Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, plants them directly opposite to the column. The duke de Richelieu gallops full speed in the king's name to give orders to the king's household to march: he communicates this news to M. de Montesson, the commanding officer, who is transported with joy, and immediately puts himself at their head. The prince de Soubise assembles his gendarmes under his command; the duke de Chaulnes does the same with his light horse; they all draw up in order, and march. The four squadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's household, the horse grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille; and the musketeers commanded by M. de Jumillac, rush boldly on. The dauphin was advancing with sword in hand to put himself at the head of the king's household; but they stopped him, telling him that his life was too precious. "Mine is not precious," said he; "it is the general's life that is precious in the day of battle."

In this important moment, the count d'Eu and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld with concern the troops quitting their post at Antoin; the count de

la Marck, their commander, with reluctance obeying. "I will answer," said the duke de Biron, "for his disobedience; I am sure the king will approve of it now that there is so great a change in our favor; I answer that Marshal Saxe will think it right." The marshal, coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's resolution, and of the good disposition of the troops, readily acquiesced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin, he moved, notwithstanding his weakness, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and toward the Irish brigade, strictly recommending to all the troops he met on his way not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

While he was with the Irish brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and Lord Clare, the duke de Biron, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croissi were together on the right, opposite the left flank of the column upon a rising ground: they perceived the Irish and the regiment of Normandy, who were advancing toward the right flank. "Now is the time," said they to one another, "for us to advance; the English are beaten." M. de Biron puts himself at the head of the king's regiment; those of Aubeterre and Courten follow him; and all the rest advance under Count d'Estrées. Five squadrons of Penthièvre's regiment follow M. de Croissi and his sons; the squadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Cha-

brillant, Brancas, and Brionne advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it seemed as if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richelieu. Never was the king better served than at that very instant: it was the quickest and most unanimous movement. Lord Clare marches up with the Irish; the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiss advancing higher up toward the redoubt of Eu. All these corps move at the same time; the Irish commanded by Lord Clare, against the front of the column, the guards higher up, under the count de Chabannes, their lieutenant-colonel. They were all separated from the English column by a hollow way; they force through it firing almost muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the English with their bayonets fixed on their muskets. M. de Bonnasanse, at that time first captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterward the first that jumped upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the first of his regiment that broke through the column: but the officers of the French guards had already made an impression. The carbineers between the Irish and the king's household, were then piercing through the first ranks; they were seen to run about and to rally in the midst of the enemy, when the crowd and their impetuosity had disordered their ranks. Unluckily they mistook the Irish, who have near the same uniform as the English, for English battalions; and

fell upon them with great fury. The Irish cried out "*Vive la France,*" but in the confusion they could not be heard; so that some Irish were killed through mistake.

The four cannon which the duke de Richelieu had called for, and which the duke de Chaulnes had levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two discharges which thinned the ranks, and began to shake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's household advanced toward the front of the column, and threw it into disorder. The cavalry pressed it hard upon the left flank; Marshal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breasts of their horses, and he was well obeyed. The count d'Estrées, the young prince de Brionne, killed some of the enemy themselves in the foremost ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell-mell with the guards and the musketeers. All the pages were there with sword in hand; so that the marquis de Tressau, who commanded the brigade of the king's bodyguards, said to the king after the battle, "Sire, you sent us pages whom we took for so many officers."

All this time, the duke de Biron held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment and the brigade of Crillon. He had already sent M. de Boisseul, a first page of the great stable, to tell the king that everything went well on his side, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the

enemy. On the other side, the marquis d'Harcourt, son of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every side, and that the victory was sure.

At this very instant arrived the count de Castellane, despatched by Marshal Saxe, to inform the king that the field of battle was recovered. In seven or eight minutes the whole English column was dispersed; General Ponsonby, Lord Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers were slain. The English repassed the hollow way between Fontenoy and the redoubt in the greatest disorder; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was strewed with dead and wounded bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoy, because its importance deserved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a counterpoise to all disappointments. The presence of the king and his son, and the danger to which these two princes and France were exposed, greatly increased the importance of this ever memorable day.

MATERIAL SUPPLEMENTARY

TO

ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

VOLUMES.

1632 — Meanwhile the king of Sweden repasses the Rhine toward Franconia. Nuremberg opens her gates to him. He marches to Donauwörth, on the Danube, restores that ancient town to its liberty, and withdraws it from the Bavarian yoke. All the lands in Suabia belonging to the houses of Austria and Bavaria, he lays under contribution. He forces the passage of the Lech, in spite of Tilly, who is mortally wounded in the retreat. He enters Augsburg as a conqueror, and restores the Protestant religion. It is scarcely possible to push the rights of victory to a greater length. The magistrates of Augsburg take an oath of fidelity to him. The duke of Bavaria, who now remained neutral, and in arms either for the emperor or himself, is obliged to quit Munich, which surrenders to the conqueror on May 7, paying to him three hundred thousand rix-dollars, to save it from being plundered. The palatine has at least the comfort of entering with Gustavus the palace of him who had dispossessed him.

The affairs of the emperor and of Germany seem

desperate. Tilly, an excellent general, who had never been unfortunate but against Gustavus, was dead; the duke of Bavaria, discontented with the emperor, was his victim, and saw himself driven out of his capital. Wallenstein, duke of Friedland, still more disgusted with the duke of Bavaria, his declared enemy, had refused to march to his assistance, and the emperor Ferdinand, whose inclinations never led him to the field, waited his fate from that Wallenstein whom he did not love, and whom he had held at defiance. Wallenstein now employs himself in retaking Bohemia from the elector of Saxony, and has as much advantage over the Saxons as Gustavus had over the Imperialists.

With great difficulty Maxmilian, elector of Bavaria, at length effects a junction with Wallenstein. The Bavarian army, partly levied at the elector's expense, and partly at the expense of the Catholic league, consists of about twenty-five thousand men. That of Wallenstein amounted to thirty thousand old soldiers. The king of Sweden had not now above twenty thousand, but reinforcements were coming in to him on every side. He is joined by the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, William and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and the prince palatine of Birkenfeld. His general, Banier, always brings him new troops. He marches to the neighborhood of Nuremberg with above fifty thousand men, approaching the dukes of Bavaria and Wallenstein in their intrenched camp. They give him battle,

but it is not all decisive. Gustavus carries the war into Bavaria; Wallenstein carries it into Saxony; provinces, the destruction of which is completed by these different movements.

Gustavus, leaving twelve thousand men in Bavaria, hastens to Saxony. He soon arrives by forced marches at Leipsic, at a time when Wallenstein did not in the least expect him, and immediately prepares to give battle.

They fight in the great plain of Lützen on November 15. The victory is a long time doubtful, but the Swedes at length obtain it with the loss of their king, who is found among the dead, pierced by two balls and two strokes of a sword. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar completes the victory. What has not been invented about the death of this great man? A prince of the empire, who served in his army, is accused of having assassinated him; nay, his death is imputed to Cardinal de Richelieu, who had business for his life. Is it not natural then for a king who exposed himself like a soldier, to die like one?

The loss was fatal to the elector palatine, who hoped to have been re-established by Gustavus. He was then sick at Mentz, and the news of Gustavus's death heightened his disorder in such a manner that he died, November 19.

Wallenstein retires into Bohemia after the battle of Lützen. All Europe expected that the Swedes would quit Germany, now that Gustavus was no

longer at their head, but General Banier marches with them into Bohemia. He causes the body of the king to be publicly shown in the army, in order to excite the spirit of revenge.

1633 — Gustavus left the throne of Sweden to a daughter six years old, and consequently a government divided, as was the Protestant league by the death of him who had been its chief and support. The fruits of so many victories were now near being lost, yet nevertheless they were not. The true reason perhaps of so extraordinary an event is, that the emperor acted only in his closet, when he ought to have exerted himself at the head of his army. The senate of Sweden appoint their chancellor, Oxenstiern, to follow exactly the designs of Gustavus the Great in Germany. They also gave him absolute power. Oxenstiern at this time certainly enjoyed a more elevated rank than ever subject in Europe had before. He was at the head of all the Protestant princes of Germany.

These princes meet at Heilbronn, and among them are the ambassadors of France and England, and the states-general. Oxenstiern opens the conference in his own house, and immediately signalizes himself by restoring the Upper and Lower Palatinate to Charles Louis, son of the dispossessed elector. This prince Charles Louis had appeared in one of those assemblies as an elector, but this ceremony had not restored him to his dominions.

Oxenstiern renews with Cardinal Richelieu the

treaty that had been made with Gustavus Adolphus. He is only allowed a million a year subsidy, instead of one million two hundred thousand livres, which had been allowed his master.

Ferdinand negotiates with each of the Protestant princes, having a view of dividing them, but he does not succeed. The war is still continued in plundering Germany, with undecisive success. Austria is the only part which was free from it, as well before as after the time of Gustavus. The Spanish branch of Austria had hitherto but feebly supported the imperial branch, however, it at last makes an effort, sending the duke of Feria from Italy into Germany with about twenty thousand men, the greatest part of which army he lost in his marches and operations. The elector of Trier, bishop of Spires, had built and fortified Philippsburg, on which the imperial troops had seized in spite of him. Oxenstiern, by the force of the Swedish arms, obliges them to restore it to the elector, notwithstanding the duke of Feria vainly strove to force him to raise the siege. This wise politician seemed inclined to convince Europe, by his conduct, that he did not want to subdue the Catholic religion, but that Sweden, as victorious after as before the death of her king, was equally inclined to protect the Protestants and Catholics, a conduct that encouraged the pope to refuse the men, money, and a crusade, which the emperor had demanded.

1634 — France as yet had only taken part pri-

vately in this dispute. It had hitherto cost her but a very trifling subsidy to procure the throne of Ferdinand to be shaken by the Swedish arms, but Cardinal Richelieu began now to deliberate upon making some use of their success. He vainly endeavored the sequestration of Philippsburg, for France had taken every fair opportunity of making herself mistress of some towns in Alsace, as Hagenau and Saverne, which she had obliged the count von Solms, governor of Strasburg, to part with by treaty. Louis XIII., who had not declared war against Austria, yet declares it against Charles, duke of Lorraine, because he was a partisan of that house. The ministry of France dared not as yet openly attack the emperor or Spain, because they were able to defend themselves, but turned their arms upon the feeble Lorraine. Charles II., the deposed duke, is commonly called Charles IV., a prince well known for his extravagances, his marriages, and his misfortunes.

The French have an army in Lorraine, and troops in Alsace ready to act openly against the emperor, at the first fair opportunity that may afford the least justification for such a proceeding. The duke of Feria, pursued by the Swedes into Bavaria, dies there after the almost entire dispersion of his army.

In the midst of these troubles and misfortunes, Duke Wallenstein is engrossed with a design of making the army, which he commanded in Bohemia, contribute to his own grandeur, and thereby render

himself independent of an emperor who seemed dilatory in assisting even himself, and was always distrustful of his generals. It is pretended that Wallenstein treated with the Protestant princes, and even with Sweden and France. But those intrigues of which he is accused were never clearly proved. The conspiracy of Wallenstein is received as a historical fact, and yet we are absolutely ignorant of what kind it was. They guessed at his projects. His real crime was that of making the army his own, and endeavoring to become absolute master of it. Time and opportunity had done the rest. He had administered an oath to such of the principal officers of this army as were most in his interest, the purport of which was, their binding themselves to defend his person and share his fortune. Although he might justify himself in this step by the ample power which the emperor had lodged in his hands, yet the Council of Vienna are alarmed. The Spanish and Bavarian parties at that court were Wallenstein's professed enemies. Ferdinand comes to a resolution of taking off Wallenstein and his principal friends by assassination. One Butler, an Irishman, to whom Wallenstein had given a command of dragoons, and two Scotchmen, named Leslie and Gordon, the former one of the captains of his guard, are charged with this assassination. These three strangers have received their commission in Eger, where Wallenstein at that time resided, caused four officers, who were the principal friends of the

duke, to be forthwith strangled at supper, after which they assassinate himself in the castle, on February 15. If Ferdinand was obliged to come to an extremity so very odious, it ought to be reckoned among his misfortunes.

All the effects of this assassination were to exasperate the inhabitants of Bohemia and Silesia. If the Bohemians were quiet on this occasion, it was because they were awed by an army, but the Silesians openly revolt, and join the Swedes. The Swedish arms still keep all Germany in awe, even as when their king was alive. General Banier commands the whole course of the Oder; Marshal Horn governs on the Rhine; Bernard, duke of Weimar, on the Danube, and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. The emperor still continues at Vienna. It was happy for him that the Turks did not attack him at this melancholy juncture. Bethlen-Gabor was dead, and Amurath IV. was employed against the Persians.

Ferdinand, secure on that side, drew some assistance from Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tyrol. The king of Spain supplied him with some money, the Catholic league with troops, and the elector of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the palatinate, found himself under a necessity of taking part with the emperor. The Austrians and Bavarians united, support the fortune of Germany on the Danube. Ferdinand Ernest, king of Hungary, son of the emperor, encourages the Austrians

by putting himself at their head. He takes Ratisbon in sight of the duke of Saxe-Weimar. This prince and Marshal Horn, who were joined, make a stand upon the borders of Suabia, and on September 5 they give the Imperialists battle. This was the memorable battle of Nördlingen. The king of Hungary commanded the army, the elector of Bavaria headed his own troops, the cardinal-infant, governor of the Low Countries, led some Spanish regiments. Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, who had been stripped of his dominions by France, there commanded his little army of ten or twelve thousand men, which he had sometimes led to the service of the emperor, sometimes to that of the Spaniards, and subsisted at the cost of friends and enemies. There were in this combined army several great generals, such as Piccolomini and John von Worth. It was one of the most bloody battles that ever was fought, lasting above a day and a half. The army of Weimar were almost totally destroyed, and Suabia and Franconia submitted to the Imperialists, where they quartered at discretion.

This misfortune, which was shared by the Swedes, by France, and the Protestants of Germany, contributed to the most Christian king's superiority, and at length secured him the possession of Alsace. It was not the chancellor Oxenstiern's intention before this event, that France should have much power in that country, but that the Swedes, who had all the labor of the war, should reap the advantage

of it. Besides, Louis XIII. had never openly declared against the emperor. But after the battle of Nördlingen the Swedes were obliged to entreat the ministry of France to take possession of Alsace, under the name of protector, upon condition that neither the Protestant princes nor states should make peace or treat with the emperor without the consent of France and Sweden. This treaty is signed at Paris November 1.

1635 — In consequence of this, the king of France sends an army into Alsace, and puts garrisons into all the towns, Strasburg excepted, which appears as a considerable ally. The elector of Trier, being under the protection of France, is arrested by the emperor. This elector is confined at Brussels under care of the cardinal-infant, and furnishes also a reason for going to war with the Spanish branch of Austria.

France had not joined her arms to those of Sweden, until the latter became unfortunate, and the battle of Nördlingen had recovered the spirits of the Imperialists. Cardinal Richelieu already shared, in imagination, the conquest of the Spanish Low Countries with the Dutch. He fancied he should soon have the chief command himself, and Frederick Henry, a prince of Orange, be subservient to his orders. In Germany he had in his pay Bernard of Weimar on the Rhine. The army of Weimar, which was distinguished by the name of the Weimarian troops, was now become like that of Charles

IV. of Lorraine, or of Mansfieldt, an independent detached army, belonging only to its leader. They called this the army of the circles of Suabia and Franconia, and the Upper and Lower Rhine, although it was paid by France, and not in the least supported by these circles.

This was the height of the Thirty Years War, in which, on the one side we see the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and the Catholic league engaged, and on the other, France, Sweden, Holland, and the Protestant league.

The emperor could not possibly neglect dividing the Protestant league, after the victory of Nördlingen. There is great likelihood that France had been too late in her declaration of war; had she made it at the time that Gustavus himself was in Germany, the French troops had entered without resistance into a discontented country, harassed by the government of Ferdinand, but they came at a time when Germany was wearied by the Swedish devastations, after the death of Gustavus, and the battle of Nördlingen, when the superiority again appeared in favor of the Imperialists.

At the same time that France declared herself, the emperor did not neglect to make a very necessary agreement with most of the Protestant princes. The same elector of Saxony, who had been the first that called in the Swedes, was the first to abandon them by that treaty, which is known as the Treaty of Prague. Few treaties more plainly show how

religion serves as a pretext for politics, how it is laughed at, nay sacrificed to necessity.

The emperor had set all Germany aflame by the restitution of benefices. In the Treaty of Prague he first gave up the archbishopric of Magdeburg and all the ecclesiastical possession to the elector of Saxony, who was a Lutheran, excepting a pension, which was to be paid to the elector of Brandenburg, a Calvinist. The interest of the house of the elector palatine, which had first given rise to this long war, seemed to be the thing least regarded in this treaty. The elector of Bavaria was obliged only to support the widow of him who had been king of Bohemia, and the palatine, his son, when he should submit to the imperial authority.

The emperor, besides this, engages to restore to such of the confederates of the Protestant league as acceded to this treaty, all that he had taken from them, and it was likewise stipulated that they should restore all they had taken from the house of Austria; the latter indeed was very trifling, since the emperor's dominions, Upper Austria excepted, had not been in the least exposed in this war.

One branch of the house of Brunswick, the duke of Mecklenburg, the house of Anhalt, that branch of Saxony which is established at Gotha, Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar's brother, besides several imperial towns, signed this treaty. The others continue to negotiate, expecting great advantages.

The whole weight of the war, which had rested

entirely upon Gustavus Adolphus, began in 1635 to fall upon the French, and this war, which had been waged from the borders of the Baltic Sea to the bottom of Suabia, was now brought into Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and the borders of France. Louis XIII., who had paid only one million two hundred thousand francs by way of subsidy to Gustavus Adolphus, allowed four million to Bernard of Weimar for the use of his troops, besides which the French ministry gave up to this duke all their pretensions upon Alsace, of which province they promised to declare him landgrave upon a peace.

It must be owned that had not Cardinal Richelieu been the man who made this treaty, it would appear very strange. How could they give a young German prince who might have children, a province of such vast advantage to France, wherein she already possessed several towns? It is very probable that Cardinal Richelieu had no notion of keeping Alsace, nor had he any hope of annexing Lorraine to France, over which she had no manner of right, and which must have been surrendered upon a peace. The conquest of Franche-Comté appeared much more natural, and yet on that side they make but feeble efforts. The hope of dividing the Low Countries with the Dutch was the cardinal's principal object, and he had this so much at heart that, had his health and affairs permitted it, he was resolved to have commanded there in person, yet in this project he was principally disappointed, and

Alsace, which he had so freely bestowed upon Bernard of Weimar, was after the cardinal's death allotted to France. Thus do events often deceive the foresight of the ablest politicians, unless they had said it was the intention of the French ministry to keep Alsace under the name of the duke of Weimar, as it had already an army under the command of this great captain.

1736 — Italy at length takes part in this great quarrel, but not as the imperial houses of Saxony and Suabia had done, to defend its liberty against the German arms. It was intended to dispute the superiority of the Spanish branch of Austria governing in Italy, on the other side of the Alps, as it had been formerly opposed on the banks of the Rhine. The ministry of France had Savoy at that time for itself, and had just driven the Spaniards out of the Valtelline. These two great Austrian bodies were thus attacked on all sides.

France alone sends five armies at once into the field, it attacks or defends itself on the side of Piedmont, the Rhine, and the frontiers of Flanders — those of Franche-Comté, as well as those of Spain. Francis I. had formerly made like efforts, and France had never manifested before so many resources.

In the midst of so many storms, such confusion of powers as pressed it on every side, while the elector of Saxony, after having brought the Swedes into Germany, heads the imperial troops, and is

defeated by General Banier in Westphalia, who ravages Hesse, Saxony, and Westphalia, Ferdinand, still entirely engrossed by politics, at last causes his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be declared king of the Romans, in the Diet of Ratisbon, on December 12; this prince is crowned on the 20th. All the enemies of Austria exclaim against this election as null and void. The elector of Trier, say they who advance this, was a prisoner; Charles Louis, son of Frederick the palatine, king of Bohemia, is not restored as yet to the rights of his palatinate. The electors of Mentz and Cologne are the emperor's pensioners, all which, they say, is against the Golden Bull. It is very certain that none of these clauses were inserted in the Golden Bull, and that the election of Ferdinand III. by a majority of voices was as lawful as any other election of a king of the Romans made during the life of an emperor, the manner of which is not specified in the Golden Bull.

1637 — Ferdinand II. dies on February 15, aged 59, after a reign of eighteen years, which had been perplexed with foreign and intestine wars, against which he never fought but in his cabinet. He was unfortunate, because in his successes he had imagined it necessary to be bloody, and he had afterward felt great changes of fortune. Germany was still more unfortunate that her master; ravaged by her natives, by the Swedes, and by the French, pining under poverty and famine, and plunged in barbar-

ity, the certain consequences of a war so long and so unhappy.

FERDINAND III.

FORTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

Ferdinand III. mounted the throne of Germany at a time when the harassed people began to hope for some repose, but they flattered themselves in vain. A congress had been called at Cologne and also at Hamburg, to give, at least to the public, the appearances of the approaching arrangement. But peace was not the object of either Cardinal Richelieu's or the Austrian council's intention; each party still hoped for advantages which might enable them to prescribe laws.

This long and dreadful war, founded upon so many different interests, is then protracted because it was already begun. Saxony was wasted by the Swedish general, Banier, and the country about the Rhine by Duke Bernard of Weimar. The Spaniards, having taken the island of St. Margaret, had entered Languedoc, and in the Low Countries penetrated even into the Pontoise. Viscount Turenne had already distinguished himself in the Low Countries against the cardinal infant. The object of so many devastations was no longer the same as when these troubles began. They had been kindled by the Protestant and Catholic league, and on the elector palatine's account, but their purpose now was to uphold the superiority of which

France endeavored to deprive the house of Austria, while the design of the Swedes was to preserve part of their conquests in Germany. With these different views they treated, and were in arms.

1638 — Duke Bernard of Weimar began to be as dangerous an enemy to Ferdinand III. as Gustavus Adolphus had been to his father. He gave him battle twice in fifteen days near Rheinfelden, one of the four forest towns of which he made himself master, and at the second battle he entirely destroyed the army of John von Werth, a celebrated imperial general, whom he took prisoner, with many of his general officers. John von Werth is sent to Paris. Weimar besieges Breisach; he gains a third battle, assisted by Marshal de Guébriant and Viscount Turenne, against General Gœuts. He gains a fourth against Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, who, like Weimar, had no estate but his army. After having won four victories in less than four months, on December 18 he takes the fortress of Breisach, which had hitherto been looked upon as the key of Alsace.

Charles Louis, count palatine, who had reassembled some troops, and who burned with impatience to re-establish himself by his sword, is not so happy in Westphalia, where the Imperialists destroy his feeble army. But the Swedes under General Banier make new conquests in Pomerania. The first year of this reign is hardly remarkable for anything but misfortunes.

1639 — The good fortune of the house of Austria delivers it from Bernard of Weimar, as it had already done from Gustavus Adolphus. He is cut off by sickness on July 18, being only thirty-five years old. The inheritance he left behind him was his army and his conquests. This army, in truth, was secretly paid by France, but it belonged to Weimar. It had sworn fidelity to no other. There was a necessity to negotiate with it, to preserve it in the French service, and keep it from the Swedish.

Marshal Guébriant purchases the fidelity of these troops, and Louis XIII. is thus master of Weimar's army, of Alsace, Briesgau, and the neighboring country.

Money and negotiations do everything for him. He disposes entirely of Hesse, a province that furnishes good soldiers. The celebrated Amelia, dowager of the landgrave of Hanau, the heroine of her time, keeps on foot, with the help of some French subsidies, an army of ten thousand men in that desolated country which she had restored, enjoying at the same time that reputation which all the virtues of the sex bestow, together with the glory of being chief of a very powerful party.

Holland indeed, in this quarrel of the emperor, had remained neutral, but then she caused a considerable diversion by employing Spain and the Low Countries.

Banier was successful in all his battles. After

making sure of Pomerania, he had secured Thuringia and Saxony.

But the principal object of so many troubles, which had been the re-establishment of the house of the palatine, seemed to be most neglected, and by a singular fatality this prince was thrown into prison by the French themselves, who had so long appeared willing to place him in the electoral chair.

The count palatine, at the death of the Duke of Weimar, had conceived a noble, and indeed a very reasonable design, that of re-entering upon his estates with Weimar's army, which he would have purchased with the money of England. He goes in reality to London, where he gets money, and returns by France, but Cardinal Richelieu, who was willing to protect him yet did not care to see him independent, causes him to be arrested; nor is he set at liberty until Breisach and Weimar's troops are secured to France, which then gives him a maintenance the prince is forced to accept.

1640 — The progress of the French and Swedes continues. The duke de Longueville and Marshal Guébriant join General Banier. This army is still increased by the troops of Hesse and Lüneburg.

They march toward Vienna without General Piccolomini, but in a wary, skilful, and deliberate manner. Otherwise it would have been very difficult for so numerous an army to advance in sight of the enemy in a country that had been so long

devastated, and where the soldiers, as well as the people, were in want of everything.

The end of the year 1640 is yet very fatal to the house of Austria. Catalonia revolts, and gives itself up to France. Portugal, which ever since the time of Philip II. had been a province of impoverished Spain, shakes off the Austrian yoke, and soon erects herself into a separate and flourishing kingdom.

Ferdinand then begins seriously to treat for peace, yet at the same time demands of the Diet of Ratisbon an army of ninety thousand men to carry on the war.

1641 — While the emperor is at the Diet of Ratisbon, General Banier is very near seizing upon him and all his deputies. He marches his army over the Danube, which was frozen, and had he not been surprised by a thaw, he would have taken Ferdinand in Ratisbon.

The same fortune which had taken off Gustavus and Weimar in the midst of their conquests, at length delivers the Imperialists from the famous General Banier. He sickens and dies on May 20, at Halberstadt, being forty years old, and at that time more formidable than ever. None of the Swedish generals had any long career.

They negotiate still. Cardinal Richelieu could have made peace, but he did not choose to. He knew very well what advantages France was to reap, and it was his intention to make himself necessary, during the life, and after the death of Louis XIII.,

whose end he foresaw approaching, but his forecast could not teach him that he was to die first. He concluded a new treaty of an offensive alliance with Christina, queen of Sweden, for preliminaries of that peace with which they soothed an oppressed people. He augments the Swedish subsidy with an addition of two hundred thousand livres.

Count Torstenson now succeeds General Banier in the Swedish army, which was in reality an army of Germans. Almost all the Swedes who had fought under Gustavus and Banier were dead; and under the name of Swedes, the Germans fight against their country. Torstenson, bred under Gustavus, shows himself worthy of so great a master. Marshal Guébriant and he again defeat the Imperialists near Wolfenbüttel.

Austria, notwithstanding so many victories, is not yet subdued. The emperor still holds out. Germany, from the Main, even to the Baltic Sea, is laid waste. The war is not carried into Austria. They had not sufficient forces. These victories, so much boasted of, were not entirely decisive. They could not at once go through so many different enterprises and powerfully attack one side without weakening another.

1642 — Frederick William, the new elector of Brandenburg, treats with France and Sweden, in hope, it is said, of obtaining the duchy of Jägerndorf in Silesia — a duchy formerly given by Ferdinand I. to a prince of the house of Brandenburg,

who had been his governor, since confiscated by Ferdinand II. after the victory of Prague, and the misfortunes of the palatine. The elector of Brandenburg hopes to re-enter that territory of which his great uncle had been deprived.

The duke of Lorraine also implores the assistance of France to restore him to his dominions, which she does, keeping only some fortified towns. This is another support taken from the emperor.

Ferdinand III. still holds out, notwithstanding all these losses, nor is he abandoned by either Saxony or Bavaria. The hereditary provinces furnish him with soldiers. Torstenson again defeats the imperial troops in Silesia, commanded by the archduke Leopold, by the duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, and Piccolomini, but this victory is attended with no consequences. He repasses the Elbe, enters Saxony, and lays siege to Leipsic. He gains another signal victory in that country, where the Swedes had always conquered. Leopold is beaten on the plains of Breitenfelt, on November 2. Torstenson enters Leipsic on December 15. All this indeed is melancholy for Saxony and the provinces of Germany, but they had never penetrated to its centre, nor to the emperor, who supports himself after more than twenty defeats.

Cardinal Richelieu dies on December 4; a death that gives some hopes to the house of Austria.

1643 — The Swedes, in the course of this war, had often entered Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia,

and quitted them to throw themselves into the eastern provinces. Torstenson would have entered Bohemia, but, notwithstanding his victories, could never gain his point.

They continued to negotiate still slowly at Hamburg, while the war was pursued briskly. Louis XIII. dies on May 14. The emperor is farther than ever from a general peace. He flattered himself he would be able to withdraw the Swedes from the French alliance during the troubles of a minority, but it happens during the minority of Louis XIV. though very perplexed, as it had under that of Christina, that the war is continued at the expense of Germany.

The emperor's party is at length strengthened by the duke of Lorraine, who joins him after the death of Louis XIII.

The death of Marshal Guébriant, who is killed at the siege of Rottweil, is yet another advantage for Ferdinand. This is the fourth great general who perished in the progress of his victories against the Imperialists. It was the emperor's good fortune also that General Mercy should defeat Marshal Rantzau, Guébriant's successor, at Reutlingen, in Suabia.

These vicissitudes of war retard the conferences about a peace, at Münster and at Osnabrück, where the congress at last is settled. A war between Denmark and Sweden, on account of some Danish ships taken by the latter, gives Ferdinand III. time to

breathe. This accident might have given the superiority to the emperor, who shows what were his resources, by marching a small part of his army, with Gallas at its head, to the assistance of Denmark. But this diversion serves only to ruin Holstein, the stage of this transitory war, and one of the most desolated provinces of Germany. Europe was the more surprised at hostilities between Sweden and Denmark, because Denmark had offered itself as mediator of the general peace, but was now excluded, and Rome and Venice have at length the sole mediation of this peace, which is yet very distant.

The first step taken by Count d'Avaux, one of the plenipotentiaries of this peace at Münster, threw the greatest obstacle in the way of it. He writes to the princes and states of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, to engage them to support their prerogatives, and to share with the emperor and the electors the right of peace and war, a right that had been always contested between the electors and other imperial states. At the diet, these states insisted upon their right of being admitted to the conferences as contracting parties. In this they had got the start of the French ministers, who in their letters used some disrespectful terms toward Ferdinand. This occasions the emperor and the electors at once to fall off, and gives them room to complain, and to throw the reproach of continuing the troubles of Europe upon France.

Happily for the plenipotentiaries of France, they receive news about that time of a most memorable victory gained over the Spanish-Austrian army at Rocroi, by the duke d'Enghien, afterward the great Condé, who in this battle destroys the celebrated Castilian and Walloon infantry, whose reputation had been so very great. Plenipotentiaries, backed by such victories, might write in any terms.

1644 — The emperor might still flatter himself that Denmark would declare in his favor, but of this resource he is deprived. Cardinal Mazarin, Richelieu's successor, is assiduous in reconciling Denmark to Sweden. Nor is this all; Denmark also engages itself not to assist any of the enemies of France.

Both the negotiations and the war are equally unhappy for the Austrians. The duke d'Enghien, who had beaten the Spaniards the preceding year, gives battle three times in four days, between August 5 and 9, in the neighborhood of Freiburg, to General Mercy, and beats him each time, whereby he makes himself master of the whole country from Mentz to Landau, of which Mercy had been before possessed.

Cardinal Mazarin and the chancellor Oxenstiern, in order the better to command the negotiations, raise up a new enemy to Ferdinand in the person of Ragotzky, who had been sovereign of Transylvania ever since 1626. They procure for him the protection of the pope. Ragotzky wants neither pretexts

nor reasons for his conduct. The Protestants of Hungary persecuted, the privileges of the people despised, and the violation of ancient treaties, form Ragotzky's manifesto, while the money of France supplies him with arms.

In the meantime the Imperialists are pushed hard by Torstenson in Franconia. General Gallas flies everywhere before him, and before Count Königsmark, who trod already in the steps of the greatest Swedish captains.

1645 — Ferdinand and the archduke Leopold, his relative, were at Prague when the victorious Torstenson enters Bohemia, and obliges them to fly to Vienna. At Tabor, Torstenson comes up with the imperial army, which was commanded by General Gœuts and John von Werth, who was redeemed out of prison. Gœuts was killed, and John von Werth flies. In short, the rout is complete. The conqueror marches to, and besieges Brünn; nay, even threatens Vienna.

In this long train of disasters, something always fell out to preserve the emperor. The siege of Brünn had been protracted, and instead of the French marching toward the Danube to join the Swedes, as they were to have done in case they had conquered, Viscount Turenne is beaten, on the beginning of his journey, by General Mercy, at Mariendal, and retires to Hesse.

The great Condé marches against Mercy, and has the glory of repairing Turenne's defeat by a

most signal victory on the very same plains of Nördlingen, where the Swedes had been before beaten after the death of Gustavus. Turenne contributes even more than Condé to the success of this bloody battle, which is the less decisive the more destructive it is. The emperor suddenly withdraws his troops from Hungary, and treats with Ragotzky, to prevent the French from marching through Bavaria to Vienna, while the Swedes threaten to approach it through Moravia.

In all probability, while the French and Swedish arms are attended with such mighty prosperity, some rooted vice still prevented their reaping the advantage of such success. The mutual fear which each of these allies had of the other's obtaining the superiority, the failure of money, and the want of recruits, all set bounds to their progress.

After the famous battle of Nördlingen it was scarcely to be expected that the Austrians and Bavarians should suddenly recover the territories lost by that battle, and that they should pursue even the victorious army of Condé to the Neckar, where he himself was not, but where Turenne remained. Such vicissitudes are frequent in this war.

In the meantime the emperor, tired with such continual shocks, began to think seriously of peace. He at length gives the elector of Trier his liberty, whose imprisonment had given France a pretext for declaring war; but the French arms re-establish this elector in his capital. Turenne drives out the

imperial garrison, and the elector of Trier allies himself to France as his benefactor. The elector palatine might have had the same obligations; but France as yet had done nothing decisive for him.

That which principally contributed to the emperor's safety was, that Saxony and Bavaria had almost always borne the burden of the war; but the elector of Saxony, being at length much weakened, enters into treaty with the Swedes. Ferdinand had not done more for him than for Bavaria. The Turks threaten Hungary. All has thereby been lost. The fear of the Ottoman arms makes him impatient to satisfy Ragotzky. He acknowledges that prince sovereign of Transylvania, a prince of the empire, and restores to him all that he had given to his predecessor, Bethlen-Gabor. Thus by every treaty is the emperor a loser; and he hastens the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia, whereby he is to lose still more.

1646 — Pope Innocent X. was the first mediator of this peace, whereby the Catholics were to be considerable losers; the republic of Venice was the second. Cardinal Chigi, afterward pope by the name of Alexander VII., was the pope's minister in Münster, and Contarini acted there for Venice. Each interested power made propositions according to its hopes or fears; but victories form treaties.

During these first negotiations, Marshal Turenne, by an unexpected and bold march, joins the Swedish army upon the Neckar in sight of the archduke Leo-

pold. He advances as far as Munich, and increases the fears of Austria. Another Swedish body marches to ravage Silesia; but all these expeditions are no more than incursions. If the war had been carried on step by step, under the conduct of one single leader, who had always obstinately persisted in the same plan, the emperor would not have been in a condition at this time to accomplish the crowning of his eldest son, Ferdinand, in the month of August, at Prague, and afterward at Presburg, though this young king did not live to enjoy his dignity. Besides, the thrones which his father at that time bestowed were very unsteady.

1647 — The emperor, in endeavoring to secure these kingdoms to his son, is nearer losing them than ever. The elector of Saxony is obliged, by the misfortunes of the war, to abandon him, as is the elector Maximilian, his brother-in-law, whose example the elector of Cologne follows. They sign a treaty of neutrality with France. Marshal Turenne obliges the elector of Mentz to adopt the same conduct, and fear has the same influence on the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. The emperor remains alone, without any one prince to take part in his quarrel; nor have we, till this time, a single instance of such a nature in the wars of the empire.

About this period Wrangel, a new Swedish general, who succeeded Torstenson, takes Eger; and Bohemia is once again pillaged. The danger appears so very great that the elector of Bavaria, notwith-

standing his great age and the peril thereby threatening his dominions, cannot see the head of the emperor left without succor, but breaks through the treaty with France. War is made at the same time in different places, according as the armies can subsist. When the emperor has the least advantage, his ministers at the congress demand favorable conditions; but on the least check, are obliged to submit to severe terms.

1648 -- The duke of Bavaria's revolt to the house of Austria is not prosperous. Turenne and Wrangel beat his troops and the Austrians at Summarhausen and at Lauingen, near the Danube, in spite of the brave resistance of a prince of Würtemberg and that of Montecuculi, who began already to prove himself worthy to oppose a Turenne. The conqueror possesses himself of Bavaria, and the elector takes refuge at Salzburg.

In the meantime Count Königsmark, at the head of the Swedes, surprises Prague in Bohemia. This was a decisive blow. It was time at length to make peace. Conditions were to be received, or the empire hazarded. The French and Swedes had no longer any enemy in Germany but the emperor. All the rest were either allied or subdued, and waited only that the empire should receive laws from the congress at Münster and Osnabrück.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

This Peace of Westphalia, at last signed on Oct. 14, 1648, at Münster and Osnabrück, was made, given, and received, "as a fundamental and perpetual law"; such are the exact words of the treaty. It was to serve as the basis of imperial capitulations. It is even at this day a law as sacred, and as fully received, as the Golden Bull; nay, very much superior to this bull, by the detail of the many interests comprehended in the treaty of all the rights which it confirms, and the changes made, as well in religion as in civil affairs.

This work had been carried on incessantly for more than six years, at Münster and Osnabrück. There had been, however, much time lost in disputing about ceremonials; the emperor refusing to give the title of Majesty to the kings who had triumphed over him. His minister Lutzan, in the first act of 1641, wherein the passports and conferences were settled, spoke of preliminaries "between His Most Sacred Cæsarian Majesty and the Most Serene and Most Christian King." The king of France, for his part, refuses to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor. It was not without difficulty that the court of France had given the title of "Majesty" to the great Gustavus, who believed all kings to be equal, and admitted no superiority but that of victory. The Swedish ministers at the congress of Westphalia affected to be put upon a footing with those of France. The

plenipotentiaries of Spain in vain insisted upon their king being named immediately after the emperor. The new states of the United Provinces demanded in this treaty an equal rank with kings. The term "Excellency" began now first to be used. The ministers assumed it to themselves, and there were tedious debates to know to whom it belonged.

In the famous treaty of Münster were named his Sacred Imperial Majesty, his Sacred Most Christian Majesty, and the Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden.

None of the electors plenipotentiaries had the title of Excellency given him in these conferences; nor do the ambassadors of France give place even to the electors themselves among the princes, and the count d'Avaux wrote thus to the elector of Brandenburg: "Sir, I have done all I could to serve you." When the king of France addressed them, the states-general of the United Provinces were to be called the Lords of the States; pursuant to which, when Count d'Avaux went from Münster to Holland in 1644, he never addressed them by any title but that of Messieurs; nor could they procure for their plenipotentiaries the distinction of Excellency. The count d'Avaux also refused it to an ambassador from Venice, and only gave it to Contarini because he was a mediator. Affairs were very much retarded by these pretensions and refusals, which the Romans call *"gloriole,"* and which all the world condemns when they are without character, but insist on when they have established one. These customs, titles,

ceremonies, superscriptions, and subscriptions of letters, with their different forms, have varied from time to time. Often the negligence of a secretary was sufficient to found a title. The languages in which they wrote, established forms, which, passing afterward into other languages, appeared odd. The emperors before Rudolph I. sent all their mandates in Latin, "thouing" every prince, as the grammar of that language admits. This "thouing" of the counts of the empire was continued in the German language, which disallows such expressions. We find everywhere such examples, but they have not even to this day settled a particular precedent.

The mediating ministers were rather witnesses than arbitrators; above all, the nuncio Chigi, who was there only to see the church sacrificed. He sees the diocese of Bremen and Verden given up to the Swede, who was a Lutheran; those of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, to the elector of Brandenburg.

The bishoprics of Ratzeburg and Schwerin were only fiefs of Mecklenburg. The bishoprics of Osnabrück and of Lübeck were not indeed entirely secularized, but alternately appointed to a Lutheran and a Catholic bishop. This was a delicate regulation, which could never have taken place during the first troubles of religion; but which is not contradicted by a nation naturally quiet, in which the fury of fanaticism was extinct.

Liberty of conscience was established all over

Germany. The emperor's Lutheran subjects in Silesia had a right to build new churches, and the emperor was obliged to admit Protestants into the aulic council.

The commanderies of Malta, the abbeys and benefices, in Protestant countries, were given to the princes and sovereigns who were at the expense of the war.

How very different were these concessions from the edict of Ferdinand II., who, in the time of his prosperity, had ordered the restitution of all ecclesiastical possessions. Necessity, and the repose of the empire, ordained this law. The nuncio protested and anathematized. That a mediator should condemn the treaty over which he presided was before this unknown; but he knew not what other step to take. The pope by his bull "deprives him of his full power, annulling all the articles of the Peace of Westphalia, as far as they related to religion." But had he been in the place of Ferdinand he would have ratified the treaty. This pacific revolution in religious, causes another in civil affairs. Sweden becomes a member of the empire, being in possession of Hither Pomerania, the most beautiful and profitable part of the other, the principality of Rügen, the town of Wismar, many neighboring villages, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden. The duke of Holstein also hereby gained some territories.

The elector of Brandenburg indeed loses a great part of Hither Pomerania, but gains the fertile

country of Magdeburg, which was infinitely better than his marquisate. He had also Cammin, Halberstadt, and the principality of Minden.

The duke of Mecklenburg loses Wismar, but he gains the territory of Ratzeburg and of Schwerin. Five millions of German crowns are at length paid to Sweden, which the seven circles were to have discharged; and six hundred thousand crowns were paid to the prince landgrave of Hesse, to be raised by the archbishoprics of Mentz, of Cologne, of Paderborn, of Münster, and the abbey of Fulda. Germany, as impoverished by this peace as it had been by the war, could scarcely have paid its protectors dearer.

These afflictions were, however, healed by the useful regulations made both in commerce and justice, by the care which was taken to regulate the complaints of every town, as well as of every gentleman, who laid their rights before the congress, as before a supreme court that was to determine the fate of the world. The particulars were prodigious.

France confirmed to itself forever the possession of three bishoprics, and the acquisition of Alsace, Strasburg excepted; but instead of being paid, like Sweden, she is obliged to pay.

The archdukes of the branch of Tyrol had three millions of livres for parting with their rights upon Alsace and Sundgau. France paid both for war and peace; but she did not purchase so fine a province dearly. Breisach and its dependencies were also hers,

as well as the right to garrison Philippsburg. These two advantages she has since lost; but kept Alsace, which is at length incorporated with that kingdom by Strasburg's having given herself up.

There are few civilians who do not condemn the wording of the cession of Alsace in this famous treaty of Münster. In it are found many equivocal terms. In effect, to give up "all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty," and to give up "the prefecture of ten free imperial towns," are two very different things. It is highly probable that the plenipotentiaries saw this difficulty, but did not choose to fathom it, well knowing that there are many things, the veil of which time will remove and power overthrow.

The house of the palatine was restored to all its rights, except the Higher Palatinate, which was left to the Bavarian branch. An eighth electorate was erected in favor of the palatine. Such was their attention to all rights and every complaint, that they went so far as to stipulate the payment of twenty thousand crowns, which the emperor was to give the mother of the count palatine, Charles Louis, and ten thousand to each of his sisters. Even he who came only to demand the restitution of a few acres of land was well received. All things were discussed and regulated. There were one hundred and forty thousand restitutions appointed. The restitution of Lorraine, and the affair of Juliers, submitted to an arbitration. Germany has at last peace, after a war of thirty years; but France has not.

The troubles of Paris, in 1647, emboldened Spain to make her own advantage of it, who declines engaging in the general negotiation. The states-general, who were to have treated at Münster, as well as Spain, make a separate peace with Spain, in spite of all the obligations they had to France, the treaties which tied them down, and the interests which seemed to bind them to their ancient protectors. The Spanish minister made use of a very singular artifice to engage the states to this breach of faith: he persuaded them that he was ready to give the infanta in marriage to Louis XIV., with the Low-Countries by way of dower. This soon frightened the states into his measures. It was no more than a lie; and, indeed, properly speaking, what difference is there between the art of politics and the art of lying?

In this important Treaty of Westphalia the Roman Empire had hardly any share. Sweden had no business to quarrel with the sovereign of Italy, but with the king of Germany. France had some points to regulate which Ferdinand could not agree to but as emperor. These concerned Pignerol, the succession of Mantua and of Montferrat, which were fiefs of the empire. It was settled that the king of France should pay about six hundred thousand livres to "Monsieur the duke of Mantua, upon the receipt of Monsieur the duke of Savoy;" provided that he should keep Pignerol and Casale in full and independent sovereignty of the empire. France has since

lost these possessions, as Bremen, Verden, and part of Pomerania have been taken from Sweden; but the Treaty of Westphalia, as far as it concerns the regulating of Germany, has always remained respected, and is still inviolable.

A DESCRIPTION OF GERMANY,

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE DEATH OF FERDINAND III.

Thus the chaos of German government was not well settled in less than seventeen hundred years, reckoning from the reign of Henry the Fowler, before whose time it had not been a government. The prerogatives of the kings of Germany had not been restrained to proper limits; most of the rights of the electors, of the princes, of the immediate noblesse, and of the towns, were not incontestably fixed till after the Treaty of Westphalia. Germany was a grand aristocracy, at the head of which was a king not unlike those of England, Sweden, and Poland, or such a form of government as had been anciently received by the states, founded by the people who came from the North and the East. The diet was in the place of a parliament, where the imperial towns had a right to vote, to determine peace or war.

These imperial towns enjoy regal rights equally with the princes of Germany. They are states belonging to the empire, and not to the emperor.

They neither pay the smallest imposts, nor do they contribute to the necessities of the empire, but in the most urgent cases. Their tax is regulated by the general register. If they have the right of finally determining or judging, *de non appellando,* without appeal, they are absolutely sovereign states. Nevertheless, with all these rights, they have very little power; because they are surrounded with princes who have a great deal. The inconvenience annexed to a government so complicated and mixed, in so extended a country, still subsisted; as did the state itself. The multiplicity of sovereignties served to balance one another, until, in the heart of Germany, a power forms itself sufficiently great to swallow up the rest.

This vast country repairs insensibly its losses after the Peace of Westphalia. Its lands are cultivated, and its towns rebuilt. In the following years these were the most remarkable things that happened to a body everywhere wasted and torn, who availed herself now of the grievances she had sustained from her own members during thirty years.

When it is said that Germany was in those times a free country, this is to be understood of the princes and imperial towns; for all the intermediate towns are subject to greater vassals, to whom they belong; and the condition of the inhabitants of the country is middling, between a slave and a subject; particularly in Suabia and Bohemia.

Hungary, like Germany, breathes a little, after

so many intestine wars, and such frequent invasions of the Turks; she standing in need of being recruited, repeopled, and polished; but always jealous of her right of electing a sovereign, and preserving under him her privileges. When Ferdinand III. causes his son Leopold, then seventeen years old, to be elected king of Hungary in 1664, they make his serene highness sign a capitulation as binding as that of the emperor. It is to be observed that the Hungarians use Serene Highness instead of Majesty; a title they never give to any but the emperor, or the king of the Romans. But the Hungarian lords were not so powerful as the German princes; they had neither Swedes nor French to guarantee their privileges; they were rather oppressed than assisted by the Turks, and for this reason Hungary has been at length entirely subdued, in our time, after new intestine wars.

The emperor, after the Treaty of Westphalia, found himself peaceable possessor of Bohemia, devolved to him as a patrimony; of Hungary, which he looked upon as an inheritance, while the Hungarians thought themselves an elective kingdom, and of all the provinces to the extremity of Tyrol. He had no territory in Italy.

The name of the Holy Roman Empire always remains. It is difficult to define what it is besides Germany, and what Germany is besides the empire. Charles V. had justly foreseen that, if his son, Philip II., had not, together with the imperial throne,

enjoyed the crowns of Spain, of Germany, of Naples, and of Milan, scarcely more would have remained to him than the name of Empire. In effect, when the great fief of Milan was, as well as Naples, in the hands of the Spanish branch, this branch found itself at the same time that it was a titulary vassal of the empire and the pope, protecting one, and giving laws to the other. Tuscany and the principal towns in Italy secure themselves in their ancient independence of the emperors. A Cæsar who had no dominions in Italy, and who in Germany was only the chief of a republic of princes and slaves, could not pretend to command like a Charlemagne or an Otho.

We see, in all the course of this history, two great designs carried on for nearly eight hundred years; that of the popes hindering the emperors to reign in Rome, and that of the German lords preserving and increasing their privileges.

It was in this condition that Ferdinand III., at his death, in 1657, left the empire, while the Spanish branch of Austria still carried on that long war with France, which was finished by the Pyrenean treaty, and the marriage of the infanta Maria Theresa to Louis XIV.

These events are so recent, and so very well known, as well as recited by all historians, that it would be needless to repeat here what nobody is ignorant of. From this situation of affairs a general idea may be formed of the empire, from those days down to ours.

STATE OF THE EMPIRE UNDER LEOPOLD.

FORTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

It is to be remarked that at first, after the death of Ferdinand III., the empire almost passed out of the house of Austria; but in 1658 the electors imagined themselves obliged to choose Leopold Ignatius, the son of Ferdinand, who was then eighteen years old; but the good of the state, the neighborhood of the Turks, and private jealousies, contributed to the election of a prince whose house was sufficiently powerful to support, but not to enslave, the German Empire. They had formerly elected Rudolph of Hapsburg because he had scarcely any territories. The empire was continued to his posterity, because they had a great deal.

The Turks, still masters of Buda; the French, possessors of Alsace; the Swedes, of Pomerania and Bremen, made this election necessary; so natural is the idea of equilibrium amongst all men.

Besides, it was in Leopold's favor that there had been ten emperors successively of the same house; so many pleas are generally attended to when the public liberty is not thought to be in danger. It is thus that the elective throne of Poland has continued always hereditary in the Jagellon family.

Italy could not be an object for the ministry of Leopold; there was no longer any need of seeking a crown at Rome, and still less of exerting the Aus-

trian claims as lord paramount over Naples and Milan. But France, Sweden, and Turkey, employed the Germans all this reign, these three powers, one after another, being either limited, repulsed, or vanquished, without Leopold's drawing his sword. This prince, the least warlike of his time, always attacked Louis XIV. when France was in the most flourishing condition; at first, after the invasion of Holland, when he furnished the United Provinces with an assistance which he had not extended to his own house at the invasion of Flanders; and some years after, at the Peace of Nimeguen, when he made that famous League of Augsburg against Louis XIV., and at last at the time when, in the most astonishing manner, the king of France's grandson was raised to the Spanish throne.

Leopold, in all these wars, knew how to interest the Germanic body, and to make them declare them to be wars of the empire. The first was unfortunate enough, and the emperor received law from the Treaty of Nimeguen. The interior parts of Germany were not ravaged by these wars, as they had been by the war which lasted thirty years; but the frontiers, on the side of the Rhine, were damaged. Louis XIV. had always the superiority; nor could it well happen otherwise. Able ministers, experienced generals, a kingdom everywhere united, places well fortified, armies well disciplined, and a formidable artillery, as well as excellent engineers, must necessarily have the better of a country where these

advantages are wanting. It is astonishing that France did not succeed better against armies levied in haste, often ill-paid, and equipped still worse, the leaders of which were princes who seldom agreed, and who had different interests to pursue. France in this war, which was ended by the Treaty of Nimeguen, owed its superiority to the excellence of its government beyond that of Germany, Spain, and the United Provinces, which were but badly united.

Fortune was less unequal in the second war produced by the League of Augsburg. Louis XIV. had then against him England, joined to Germany and Spain. The duke of Savoy was in the league; and Sweden, that had been so long the ally of France, abandoned her, furnishing troops against her in quality of a member of the empire. Notwithstanding there were so many allies, they could scarcely do more than defend the empire; nor could they, at the Peace of Ryswick, with all their power, force Strasburg from Louis XIV.

The third war was indeed more prosperous to Leopold and Germany; yet at this time the king of France was more powerful than ever. He governed Spain in the name of his grandson, and had under him the Spanish Low Countries and Bavaria; besides which, his armies were in the midst of Italy and Germany. The memorable battle of Höchstädt gave things an entirely new face. Leopold died in the following year, 1705, convinced that France

would soon be crushed, and Alsace reunited to Germany. The grandeur of Louis XIV. was of the greatest service to Leopold during his whole reign. This grandeur made him so vain, ostentatious, and haughty that he irritated rather than intimidated all his neighbors, more especially the English.

It is commonly believed that he had universal monarchy; but even if Leopold had inherited the Spanish succession (which seemed for some time extremely likely), despite the fact that he was then absolute master of Hungary, whose boundaries were very extensive, and notwithstanding he was very powerful in Germany, possessed Spain, and the absolute dominion of one-half of Italy, and was as well sovereign of the best part of the new world, and thus able to support the rights and pretensions of the empire, this would probably have been his nearest approach to universal monarchy. They affected to fear this in Louis XIV., because, after the Peace of Nimeguen, he seemed inclined to make the three bishoprics depend on him for certain lands which they hold of the empire; and yet they did not fear it in Leopold or his issue, who were near to reigning over Germany, Spain, and Italy.

Louis XIV., in irritating his neighbors, did infinitely more service to the house of Austria than he could possibly have done harm to it by his power.

HUNGARY AND THE TURKS DURING THE TIME OF LEOPOLD.

Leopold never risked anything in the wars which he waged from his closet against Louis XIV. Germany and its allies bore all the burden, and defended his hereditary dominions; while, on the side of Hungary and the Turks, there was nothing to be expected but trouble and danger. The Hungarians were only the remains of a once numerous nation, that survived the destruction of civil war, or the sabre of the Ottomans. They, sword in hand, tilled the soil which was still wet with the blood of their ancestors. The lords of these unhappy cantons endeavored, at one and the same time, to defend their privileges against the authority of their king, and their liberty against the Turk, who, whilst he protected, destroyed the country. The Turks acted in Hungary exactly as the French and Swedes had done in Germany; but the Turks were more dangerous, and the Hungarians more unfortunate than the Germans.

One hundred thousand Turks march, in 1663, toward Neuhäusel. It is true that they were vanquished, the year after, near St. Gotthard, on the Raab, by the famous Montecuculi. This victory is much boasted of, but was certainly far from being decisive. What was the consequence of this victory, but a shameful treaty, by which Transylvania, and

all the territory of Neuhäusel is yielded to the Turks, who raze to the ground the fortifications of the neighboring citadels? The Turks give Transylvania to Abassi, or rather settle him in it, and still devastate Hungary, notwithstanding the treaty.

Leopold at that time had no child but the archduchess, who was afterward electress of Bavaria; and the Hungarian lords have some thoughts of choosing a king of their own nation, should Leopold die. Their projects, their steadiness in supporting their rights, and their conspiracies, cost Serini, Frangipani, Nadasti, and Tattenback, their heads.

The Imperialists seize on the castles of all who had befriended these unfortunate men. The great dignities of palatine of Hungary, judge of that kingdom, and of the ban of Croatia, are suppressed, and the form of justice gives countenance to rapine. This excess of severity drives them at first into consternation, afterward into despair. Emerick Tekeli puts himself at the head of the malcontents, and all Upper Austria is in a flame.

Tekeli treats with the Porte, at which time the court of Vienna soothes the malcontents of Hungary. She re-establishes the office of palatine, confirms the privileges for which they had fought, and promises to restore the estates that had been confiscated; but this condescension, after so much severity, wears the appearance of a snare. Tekeli believes there is more to be got by adhering to the Turkish than to the imperial court. He is made

prince of Hungary by the Turks, on condition of paying a tribute of forty thousand sequins. In the year 1682, Tekeli, assisted by some troops under the command of the pasha of Buda, ravages Silesia; and the pasha takes Tokai and Eperies, whilst the sultan, Mahomet IV., prepares the most formidable armament that the Ottoman Empire had ever made against the Christians.

We do not see how the emperor could have opposed the Turks, had they taken this step before the Treaty of Nimeguen; seeing after that his resistance was not very great.

The grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, traverses Hungary with above two hundred and fifty thousand foot, thirty thousand spahis, with baggage and artillery in proportion to so great a multitude. He drives Charles V., duke of Lorraine, everywhere before him, and lays siege to Vienna, unresisted.

SIEGE OF VIENNA IN 1683; TOGETHER WITH ITS CONSEQUENCES.

This siege of Vienna ought to demand the attention of posterity. This town had been in some measure the capital of the Roman Empire, and the residence of ten emperors of the house of Austria successively; yet it was neither strong nor large. Had this capital been taken, no place between it and the Rhine could have held out. Vienna and its sub-

urbs contained about one hundred thousand citizens; two-thirds of whom, at least, inhabited the suburbs, which were entirely defenceless. Kara Mustapha advanced upon the right of the Danube, followed by three hundred and thirty thousand men, including all that attended this formidable expedition. It is pretended that it was the grand vizier's design to take Vienna for himself, and make it the capital of a new kingdom, independent of his master. Tekeli, with the Hungarian malcontents, marched on the other side of the river Danube. The whole kingdom of Hungary was lost, and Vienna threatened on every side. Duke Charles of Lorraine had not above twenty-four thousand fighting men to oppose the Turks, who hasten their march. A slight combat ensues at Petronella, not far from Vienna, which serves only to diminish the prince's already weak army.

On July 7, the emperor Leopold; the empress, his mother-in-law; the empress, his wife; the archdukes, the archduchesses, and all their household, quit Vienna, and retire to Linz. Two-thirds of the inhabitants follow the court in despair. There is nothing to be seen but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with movables; which last fall into the hands of the Tartars. The retreat of the emperor to Linz brings with it only terror and confusion. The court does not think itself safe there. It flies from Linz to Passau. The consternation at Vienna increases. The suburbs are burned, with all the

houses of pleasure; the body of the town is hastily fortified and supplied with ammunition and warlike stores. They were not at all prepared when the Turks opened the trenches; which they did on July 17, in the suburb of St. Ulric, fifty paces from the counterscarp.

The count of Starhemberg, governor of the town, had seventeen thousand men in garrison, of whom there were not above eight thousand effective. Such of the citizens as remained in Vienna, and even the students of the university, were armed. The professors and scholars mounted guard, and their major was a physician.

To complete the misfortune, they are in want of money, and find the raising of one hundred thousand rix-dollars very difficult.

The duke of Lorraine had vainly endeavored to preserve a correspondence between the town and his little army; but all he was able to do was to cover the emperor's retreat. He was obliged to repass the Danube on bridges thrown over it for that purpose, and was far north of the town, while the Turks surrounding it pushed their trenches in open day. He makes head against Tekeli's Hungarians, and protects Moravia; but Moravia as well as Vienna seems near falling into the hands of the Turks.

The emperor presses the assistance of Bavaria, Saxony and the circles; but above all of John Sobieski, king of Poland, who had been long the terror of the Turks, while general of the crown, and who

JOHN SOBIESKI

owed his throne to his victories. Yet this assistance could not possibly arrive in a little time.

By the month of September they had made a breach in the body of the place six fathoms wide, and it seemed to be absolutely left without any hopes of resource. It might have fallen into the power of the Turks more easily than Constantinople had done, but the siege was not conducted by a Mahomet II. The sluggishness and inactivity of the grand vizier, but above all his contempt for the Christians, prevented the siege being carried on with spirit.

The space of ground taken up by his tents was equal to that of the besieged town. He had baths, gardens, and fountains, and in the midst of the progress of ruin wantoned in excess of luxury.

John Sobieski at length passes the Danube, some leagues above Vienna, and the troops of Saxony, Bavaria, and other allies having also arrived, they make a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Kahlenberg, at a time that everything began to fail them but their courage.

The imperial and Polish armies descend from Mount Kahlenberg, of which the grand vizier had forgotten to possess himself, extending themselves in the form of an amphitheatre. The king of Poland led the right wing, at the head of twelve thousand horse and four thousand foot, or thereabouts. Prince Alexander, his son, was very near him. The infantry of the emperor and the elector of Saxony, were in the left wing. Duke Charles of Lorraine

commanded the Imperialists. The troops of Bavaria amounted to ten thousand men, and those of Saxony to nearly the same number.

Never were there seen in any battle greater princes than in this. The elector of Saxony, John George III., was at the head of his Saxons; but the Bavarians were not headed by the elector Maximilian Emanuel. This young prince chose rather to serve near the duke of Lorraine as a volunteer. He had received from the emperor a sword enriched with diamonds, and when Leopold returned to Vienna, after its deliverance, the young prince, saluting him with this very sword, showed him what a noble use he made of his present. He was the same elector who was afterward put under the ban of the empire.

The imperial cavalry was led by the prince of Saxe-Lauenburg, sprung from the ancient but unhappy house of Ascania. The infantry was commanded by Prince Herman of Baden, and the troops of Franconia, to the amount of seven thousand, under the conduct of Prince Waldeck.

Among the volunteers of this army were three princes of the house of Anhalt, two of Hanover, three of Saxony, two of Neuburg, two of Holstein, a prince of Hesse-Cassel, one of Hohenzollern, and two of the house of Würtemberg; while a third distinguished himself within the town. The emperor only was absent.

This army amounted to sixty-four thousand men, that of the grand vizier to double the number. So

that this battle may be reckoned among those which show that the smaller number has generally the better of the greater because, perhaps, there is too much confusion in large armies, and more order in the smaller.

On September 12 Vienna was delivered; and this battle, if it can be called one, was fought. The grand vizier left twenty thousand men in the trenches, and ordered the place to be assaulted, while he marched against the Christian army. This last assault might have succeeded, as the besieged began to want powder, and most of the cannon were dismounted; but the sight of assistance gave them new strength.

In the meantime the king of Poland, having harangued his troops from rank to rank, marched at the head of one wing against the Ottoman army, the duke of Lorraine at the head of the other. Never was battle less bloody or more decisive. Two posts taken from the Turks determined the victory. The Christians did not lose above two hundred men; the Ottomans lost scarcely a thousand. This was at the close of day, and fear spread itself with the night into the vizier's camp, who retired precipitately with his whole army. So prodigious was the terror and stupidity arising from their long security that they abandoned their tents and baggage; leaving behind them even Mahomet's great standard. Nothing can equal the vizier's error in this battle, except that of leaving him unpursued.

The king of Poland sent Mahomet's standard to

the pope. The Germans and the Polanders were considerably enriched by the Turkish spoils. The king of Poland wrote to his wife, who was a French woman, daughter of the marquis d'Arquien, that the grand vizier had made him his heir, and that he had found in his tent to the value of several millions of ducats.

That letter is well known, in which he says: "You cannot address me as the wives of the Tartars do their husbands, when they see them come home empty-handed, 'you are not a man, since you return without booty.'"

The day following, being September 13, King John Sobieski causes the *"Te Deum"* to be sung in the cathedral of Vienna, and officiates in it himself. This ceremony was followed by a sermon, the preacher of which took for his text these words: "There was a man sent by God, and his name was John." The whole town thronged to return thanks to this king, and to kiss the hands of their deliverer; as he relates himself. The emperor arrives there on the following day, amidst acclamations which were not for him. He visits the king of Poland outside the walls, and there is great difficulty in conducting ceremonials, at a time when acknowledgment ought to have got the better of formality.

The glory and the happiness of John Sobieski was almost eclipsed by a disaster which was scarcely to be expected, after so easy a victory. Being about to subdue Hungary, he intended to march through

Gran, now Strigonia, in which progress he was to pass by Barcam, where was lodged a considerable body of troops under the command of a pasha. The king of Poland, without staying for the duke of Lorraine, who followed him, advanced near the place with his gendarmes. Here the Turks fell upon the Polish troops, charged them in the flank, slaying two thousand of them. The vanquisher of the Ottomans is obliged to fly. He is pursued and with difficulty escapes, leaving his cloak in the hands of a Turk, who had overtaken him. Duke Charles of Lorraine at length comes to his assistance, and, to the glory of having seconded John Sobieski, king of Poland, at the deliverance of Vienna, he joins that of delivering Sobieski himself.

Hungary, on each side of the Danube as far as Strigonia, soon falls again into the hands of the emperor. Strigonia is taken. It had belonged to the Turks nearly five hundred and fifty years. They twice attempt the siege of Buda, and carry the place by assault in 1686. This was but the consequence of a train of victories.

The duke of Lorraine and the elector of Bavaria defeat the Ottomans in those very plains of Mohács, where Louis II., king of Hungary, had perished in 1526, while Solyman II., conqueror of the Christians, covered the plains with twenty-five thousand dead.

Divisions and seditions at Constantinople, with the revolts of the Turkish armies, fought also in behalf of the quiet and happy Leopold. The insurrection of

the janissaries, the deposing of the weak Mahomet IV., Solyman III. advanced to the throne from a prison in which he had been forty years confined, and the Ottoman troops ill paid, disheartened, and flying before a small number of Germans, were all occurrences favoring Leopold. A warlike emperor, seconded by the victorious troops of Poland, might now have advanced to the siege of Constantinople, after having been upon the point of losing Vienna.

Leopold judged it better to avenge the fear, into which the Turks had thrown him, upon Hungary. His ministers pretend that it would be impossible to confine the Turkish insolence within bounds unless Hungary was reunited under an absolute dominion. Yet they repelled the Turks from Vienna, with the troops of Saxony, Bavaria, and Lorraine, and other German princes, who are under no despotic yoke; particularly with the Polish allies. The Hungarians might then serve the emperor as the Germans did, by remaining free like them; but there were too many factions in Hungary. The Turks were not the men to make the treaties of Westphalia in favor of this kingdom, and if they were not now in a condition to oppress the Hungarians, neither could they assist them.

The only congress between the Hungarian malcontents and the emperor is a scaffold. It is erected in the marketplace of Eperies, in the month of March, 1687, and kept standing till the end of the year.

If some of the contemporary historians are to be believed, the executioners were weary of sacrificing the victims that were, without much distinction, delivered up to them. Antiquity cannot match a massacre so long and so terrible. There have been equal severities, but none of such continuance. Humanity does not shudder at the numbers that fall in battle; it is common; they die sword in hand, and are avenged; but that for nine long months people should see their countrymen dragged, as it were, legally, to open butchery, must be shocking to human nature, and so barbarous a sight as to fill the soul with horror.

That which is more terrible for the people is, that these cruelties sometimes succeed, and the success of them encourages tyrants to use men like wild beasts.

Hungary was subdued, the Turks twice repulsed, Transylvania conquered, and in the hands of the imperialists. At length, while the scaffold is still standing at Eperies, the principal Hungarian nobility are summoned to Vienna, where, in the name of the whole people, they declare the crown of that kingdom hereditary. The states afterward assemble at Presburg, where they confirm the decree, and Joseph is crowned hereditary king of Hungary at nine years of age.

Leopold was at this time the most powerful emperor since Charles V. Many happy circumstances concurred to enable him to continue the war against France till the Treaty of Ryswick, and

against Turkey till the Peace of Carlowitz, concluded in 1699. Both of these were of advantage to him. He treated with Louis XIV. at Ryswick on the footing of an equal, which could not have been expected after the Peace of Nimeguen, and he negotiated with the Turks as a conqueror. These successes gave Leopold a manifest superiority in the diets of Germany, which, though it did not take away the liberty of votes, made them dependent on the emperor.

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